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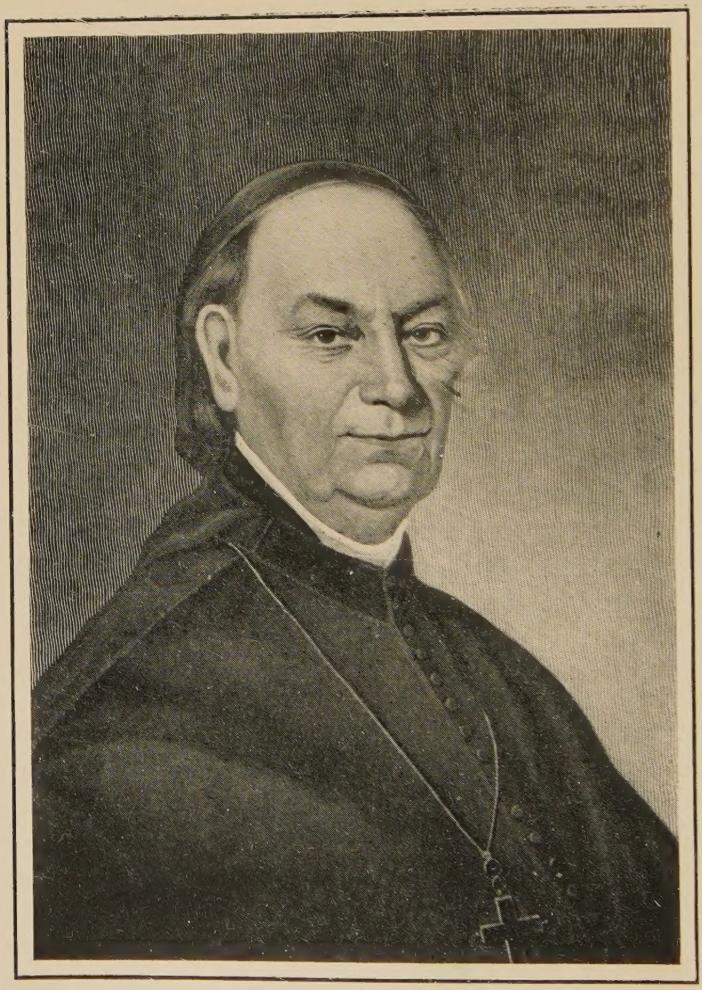

+ Richard P. Miles O. P.

Bishop of Nashville

THE FATHER OF THE CHURCH IN TENNESSEE

OR THE LIFE, TIMES, AND CHARACTER OF

THE RIGHT REVEREND

RICHARD PIUS MILES, O. P.

THE FIRST BISHOP OF NASHVILLE

By

THE VERY REVEREND

V. F. O'DANIEL, O.P., S.T.M., Litt.D.

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TO THE MEMORY OF THE
FOUNDERS OF SAINT JOSEPH'S PROVINCE
OF FRIARS PREACHER
BISHOP MILES' COMPANIONS IN STUDY
AND
THE EARLY PRIESTS OF OHIO, KENTUCKY, AND
TENNESSEE
BOTH SECULAR AND REGULAR
THIS VOLUME IS AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED

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FOREWORD.

Only a specialist can fully realize the toil, research, and patience involved in an effort to write a thorough and accurate work in so untouched a field as that with which the present volume deals. Yet, it does not seem too much for belief, a casual glance at a few of its chapters, its voluminous footnotes, and its bibliography will give even a careless reader some idea of the endless labor, time, delving, and study, as well as the painstaking care, devoted to its execution. The difficulty of the task was rendered all the greater by numberless errors discovered in the few meager accounts written at an earlier date, and the fact that much of our information on the Church in Tennessee, Bishop Miles, and his early entourage is largely derived from tradition.

Serious students, we venture to be assured, can hardly fail to note the faithful, constant effort to make the biography of the Father of the Church in Tennessee complete and reliable in every detail. No stone was left unturned in order to place the narrative on a bed-rock foundation, drawing the life-story of the Friar-Preacher prelate, in so far as might be, from only first-hand sources. The footnotes and quotations, let us hope, will bring the conviction that in but few instances did these researches fall short of their purpose. Similarly, ever and always, were the venerable traditions, whilst accorded the highest regard, thoroughly sifted and examined in the light of every available document. This, too, may be seen in many parts of the book.

Nothing was taken for granted. Even graveyards were visited in the hope that the tombstones might yield, as they sometimes did, desired dates and data.

Because of Bishop Miles' early, long, and fruitful associations with Saint Joseph's Province of Friars Preacher and the Church of Ohio, no less than that of Kentucky, the story of his life is inseparable from these institutions. In like manner, his birth in Maryland, together with his honorable ancestry there and the part which that colony played in the youthful Catholicity of the United States, seemed to call for an outline of the history of Lord Baltimore's former palatinate as a proper historical setting for the volume. To all these subjects the same careful research was given as to the life of the bishop himself and to the history of the Church in Tennessee.

Doubtless general readers will constitute the greater number of those into whose hands the book will fall. For this reason, our constant effort was to write the text in a popular style, but without departing from the historical method. Few works of its kind are so profusely illustrated. Indeed, no effort was spared to procure pictures of the churches and priests of Tennessee in Bishop Miles' time. The copious footnotes and references are principally intended for the student and historian, that they may see at a glance the sources from which the story is drawn.

Sometimes, though happily not often, what we candidly believed to be the best interest of historic truth obliged us to take friendly issue with previous writers, and even to indulge in a little criticism of those who were unfair to the subject of our narrative and his co-laborers. However, *few* are the historians who are not

obliged to confront *some* such unpleasant experiences. In all these instances we have sought to lay the plain facts before the reader, and to give due credit to the other side, if there was another side, that thus neither truth nor charity should be infringed. For the same purpose, the documents and their interpretation were always submitted to others that, if needs there should be, we might correct our views, as well as otherwise better the book by the judgment of different minds.

This scrupulous care not to deviate from historic truth or the square deal emboldens us to hope that the volume will receive from the public and reviewers a recognition like unto the generous measure of praise which was accorded its predecessors in the same field. It will offer the historian a fund of information on our American Church which has never appeared in print before. The charm of Bishop Miles' character, we doubt not, will combine with his deeply religious nature, spirit of self-sacrifice, untiring zeal, and ceaseless labors in the cause of religion to arouse the interest of readers in his life-story, no less than to win their hearts, give them great edification, and prove a source of good for their souls.

Perhaps a Catholic writer in the United States could not, at this time, better employ his pen than in rescuing our early heroes and heroines of the faith from the oblivion with which not a few of them are threatened. Their memories should be preserved and treasured, as well for the sake of religion as for the inspiration of future generations; and the only way of effecting this is by the written story of their lives. Gratitude demands that much of us. Despite his long, faithful, and fruitful toils for God and for souls, outside his own

diocese and the order to which he belonged, Tennessee's great first bishop was all but forgotten in a country where his name should be a symbol of love, a token of honor, and a pledge of fidelity. If this volume but save for him the place which he deserves in our ecclesiastical annals, the labor of writing it will not have been expended in vain. Besides, as in the State, so in the Church her history is largely what it has been made by her noble men and women. Without them the narrative of her centuries would be dull beyond expression.

We take advantage of this foreword to express our gratitude to all those who have, in various ways, aided with the book. Perhaps special mention is due to the Rev. Lucian C. Mercier, of the Third Order of Saint Dominic, who has labored for many years in the archives of Europe, both large and small. During the past decade and more, he has discovered, copied, and sent to us many documents that were invaluable for our work. When this biography was commenced, he sought to obtain permission to continue the researches which we had made in the Propaganda Archives down to 1830 (the term set for us by the sacred congregation), in order to give it the benefit of the bishop's letters to Rome and other documents relating to the Diocese of Nashville; but the cardinal prefect did not feel disposed to set aside the rule which closes the archives to investigation after that date. However, Father Mercier secured copies of a few such documents which were of service in the cause.

VICTOR F. O'DANIEL, O.P.

THE DOMINICAN HOUSE OF STUDIES,
CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA,
WASHINGTON, D. C., MAY 5, 1926.

The Father of the Church in Tennessee

CHAPTER I

BIRTHPLACE AND PARENTAGE

THE Colony of Maryland must ever occupy a conspicuous place in the history of the Catholic Church and the Order of Saint Dominic in the United States. Its beginnings form one of the brightest chapters in our national annals. It was in the former Baltimore Palatinate that the Church first took root in English-speaking America. There also were born the saintly founder of the Dominican Order in our great republic, the Right Rev. Edward Dominic Fenwick, and five out of the first six recruits to the province of Friars Preacher that he established. The colony was formed under Catholic auspices, and begun by contributions mainly from Catholic sources. So was it dominated by Catholic ideas, whilst its first settlers were largely if not principally Catholics.[1]

Perhaps none of the early English colonies were so elite in their personnel as was that of Lord Baltimore. Certainly none of them were founded on such broad principles of freedom and Christian charity. Mary-

[1] Whether Catholics or non-Catholics were the more numerous part of the original colonists in Maryland has been, and still is, a much debated question. Suffice it here to say that, in the opinion of the writer, those who hold that Catholics were in the majority for some years have the better part of the argument.

land's very corner-stone was liberty of conscience. She gave the modern world its first example of unrestricted religious toleration—a principle that afterwards happily became a keystone in our American civilization. Others had dreamed of such a civic state; but Cecilius Calvert, the father and founder of Maryland, was the first to reduce it to practice either in the Old World or in the New.

Another dominant idea that the second Lord Baltimore inherited from his father, George Calvert, was to make his American palatinate a refuge and a home for all who were persecuted for conscience' sake.[2] The dream of his life, there seems no room for doubt, was to convert it into a land of sanctuary in which his fellow Catholics of England could find and enjoy the happiness of worshipping God in accordance with the dictates of their consciences in freedom and safety. Naturally he felt a special compassion for those of his own faith, because the hardships imposed on them in the home country were oppressive beyond measure. However much we who have Anglo-Saxon blood in our veins may dislike to admit it, from the time of Henry VIII until well within the eighteenth century, with the exception of the short reign of Queen Mary, the persecution of Catholics in England rendered the lives of those who remained true to the old faith in that once happy country not unlike the lives of the Christians in the early ages of the Church.

[2] George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore, had essayed to establish a similar colony in Newfoundland, which he called Avalon; but he failed in the attempt, largely on account of the cold climate. He then obtained a patent for one in Maryland. He died, however, before he could put his design into execution. His son Cecilius fell heir to his rights.

Baltimore was not only too broad of mind but also too good of heart to confine his philanthropic enterprise to those of his own creed. He knew well that the most relentless and unmerciful of all tyranny is that of religious bigotry. He wished therefore to extend a protecting hand to any and every one who suffered under its oppression, irrespective of faith, race, or country. Doubtless he wished also to prove to the world that Catholics and Protestants could live together in peace, harmony, and happiness. The necessity of such an accord for the success of his undertaking in the wilds of America is the keynote of the instructions that he gave his brother, Governor Leonard Calvert, for the management of the colony.[3]

As Bishop Russell correctly states: "It can now be asserted without question that to Maryland belongs the credit of having been the first government in the world in modern times to successfully establish religious freedom."[4] Our unbiased non-Catholic historians give the same conclusion. Nor was the wisdom of the lord proprietary's plan slow to manifest itself. Indeed, largely owing to it, the Maryland Palatinate enjoyed prosperity and happiness from the start, while hardships and distress were commonly the lot of the other English settlements in the present United States. George Bancroft but tells the plain truth when he says:

> No sufferings were endured; no fears of want were excited; the foundation of the colony of Maryland was peacefully and happily laid. Within six months, it had advanced more than Virginia had done in as many years. The proprietary continued with great liberality to provide everything that was necessary for

[3] See *The Calvert Papers: Number One* (Fund-Publication, No. 28, pp. 127 ff). The first item in the instructions concerns this point.

[4] *Maryland; The Land of Sanctuary*, p. 276

its comfort and protection, and spared no costs to promote its interests. . . . But far more memorable was the character of the Maryland institutions. Every other country in the world had persecuting laws; through the benign administration of the government of that province, no person professing to believe in Jesus Christ was permitted to be molested on account of religion.[5] Under the munificence and superintending mildness of Baltimore, the dreary wilderness was soon quickened with the swarming life and activity of prosperous settlements; the Roman Catholics who were oppressed by the laws of England, were sure to find a peaceful asylum in the quiet harbors of the Chesapeake; and there, too, Protestants were sheltered against Protestant intolerance. . . .[6]

The colonists enjoyed freedom of conscience, not less than freedom of person and estate, as amply as ever any people in any place of the world. The disfranchised friends of prelacy [Episcopalians] from Massachusetts, and the Puritans from Virginia, were welcomed to equal liberty of conscience and political rights in the Roman Catholic province of Maryland.[7]

William Hand Browne, discussing Calvert's instructions for the government of his palatinate, declares that "equal justice and Christian charity to both Catholic and Protestant was the keynote of his rule."[8] In like manner, David Ramsay tells us: "Mankind then beheld a new scene on the theatre of English America. They saw, in Massachusetts, the Puritans abridging the rights

[5] The words "no person professing to believe in Jesus Christ" refer to "An Act Concerning Religion" passed by the Maryland assembly of 1649 (*Maryland Archives*, I, 244-247). The exclusion of tolerance from the Jew and unbeliever, as expressed in this clause, was not in accordance with the spirit and plan of Lord Baltimore. The "Act of 1649," so highly praised by some writers as a legislation in favor of religious liberty, was in reality a notable narrowing of the broader tolerance that had prevailed in the colony until that time, and must evidently be attributed to the Puritan influence that had begun to make itself felt.

[6] *History of the United States* (twenty-fourth edition), I, 247-248.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 257. In the same place, speaking of the beginnings of Maryland, Bancroft says: "Its history is the history of benevolence, gratitude, and toleration. Everything breathed peace but Clayborne."

[8] *George Calvert and Cecilius Calvert, Barons of Baltimore*, p. 57.

of various sects; and the Church of England in Virginia, actuated by the same spirit, harassing those who dissented from them in religion while the Roman Catholics of Maryland tolerated and protected the professors of all denominations."[9]

Hardly indeed had the Maryland pioneers begun to reap the fruit of their adventure when Baltimore invited the persecuted Puritans in Virginia and the more sorely tried Episcopalians in Massachusetts to his colony. Calvert, however, was in advance of his age. Perhaps the initial success of the palatinate gave him too implicit a trust in human nature. At any rate, in view of its results, this invitation seems an error, or at least premature. Until then, with the exception of the difficulty with William Claiborne and occasional threats from the Indians, which were perhaps inspired by that gentleman, there prevailed a happiness and harmony unusual in pioneer colonies.

Trouble and even persecution all too quickly followed the advent of the newcomers from Virginia and Massachusetts. They soon forgot the charity, good-will, and hospitality that had been shown them. In their former homes they had been the persecuted; in their new abode, overlooking the gratitude they owed the founders of Maryland, they became persecutors, in accordance as they gained the ascendency—first the Puritans, and then the Episcopalians. Under the rule of both the Catholics bore the brunt of the intolerance. Their treatment forms an unpleasant subject to write about at this day. Yet it is well for us to dwell on it, for it shows the baneful effects of rampant religious prejudice.

[9] *History of the United States,* I, 116.

The consequences of such a spirit may be seen in the insurrection incited by Richard Ingle in 1645; in the reduction of the province by Claiborne, Richard Bennet, and others in 1652: in the deposition of Governor William Stone in 1654; in all the subsequent train of mischievous events that ended in the replacement of the liberal policy of the first Baltimores by one of a religious intolerance little less oppressive than that which had preceded it in the mother-country. In a word, one of the brightest chapters in our civic history was succeeded by another that brings a blush to every American of true blood.

It required all the adroitness and ability of Cecilius Calvert, together with the power and influence of his friends in England, to prevent his charter from being annulled. Under his son and successor, Charles Calvert, it was actually vacated. Indeed, the Maryland assembly sought to have the third Lord Baltimore deprived of even his proprietary rights. The mother-country, however, declined to sanction such a gross injustice towards one whose father had done so much for the province. Benedict Calvert, the profligate son of Charles, apostatized from the faith for no other purpose than that of regaining the Maryland charter; but he survived his father only a few weeks. Charles Calvert II, son of Benedict, then became the fifth Lord Baltimore. He had followed his father in the change of religion, and as a consequence the charter was restored to him in its original terms, with the hearty approbation of the Maryland assembly. It was a sad change both for the welfare of the colony and for the happiness of its people.

In spite of the spirit of opposition that began to man-

ifest itself soon after the advent of colonists from Virginia and Massachusetts, and grew as their numbers increased, Maryland long enjoyed the reputation abroad of being a province with religious tolerance. In fact, it is not unlikely that many believed that those of the old faith still constituted the greater part of its population. For this reason, Catholic immigrants continued to seek homes there. Ireland and Scotland contributed their quotas as well as England.[10]

Doubtless among those who came to the colony under such an impression were some of the progenitors of the subject of this sketch. The exact date when the first Miles arrived perhaps could not now be determined. Still it is beyond question that they were in the palatinate not many years after its foundation. Family tradition, which seems to be borne out by documents, tells us that Bishop Miles' first American forbear was among the early Maryland colonists; that he was English; that he was a Catholic; and that he made his home in Saint Mary's County.

It is certain that settlers of this family name, though apparently not numerous, were widely scattered through Maryland. By 1725 we find them in Somerset, Dorchester, Talbot, Calvert, Kent, Anne Arundel, Baltimore, Saint Mary's, and Charles counties. The earliest record in which we have discovered the name is that of the court of January, 1645, noting a credit of four hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco to Robert Miles which were received in 1643; but it does not state in

[10] No doubt the reason that Catholics did not come to Maryland in greater numbers than they actually did, after the first years of the establishment of the colony, was their opposition to taking the oath of allegiance and supremacy, which was required by law before they would be allowed to sail.

what part of the colony he lived.[11] The second is a demand of Nicholas Miles for a survey of land, in behalf of himself and his sons John and Peter, "on the conditions of the plantation." This was in November, 1651, and indicates that they had been in the province for some years.[12]

Circumstances, for he settled on Britton's Bay, in Saint Mary's County, family traditions, and the handing down of the first name lead us to believe that this Nicholas Miles was the progenitor of Tennessee's first bishop. Most likely the John Miles who married Mary Beckwith, granddaughter of Nicholas Harvey, an intimate friend of Cecilius Calvert and a passenger on the *Ark* or the *Dove,* was the son in whose name the early colonist demanded a grant of land.[13]

Several individuals by the name of Miles must have arrived in Maryland shortly after those just mentioned. John Miles of Dorchester County is the only one of these whose location is designated. Francis Miles, together with his wife (Catherine) and their children James, John, Catherine, and Priscilla, was brought or sent over by "His Excellency Charles Calvert" himself, the son of the palatinate's founder and its second proprietary. They settled in Saint Mary's County, where "Miles Meadow" was surveyed for them in 1664, which would indicate that they had come to America sometime before.[14]

[11] *Maryland Archives,* IV, 296. We follow the new style of dating. Tobacco, it will be remembered, was then used as currency in Maryland.

[12] Early Settlers, Liber A.B.H., p. 233 (Land Office, Annapolis).

[13] Early Settlers (Liber Q, p. 416) and Inventories and Accounts (IV, 179) show this Miles-Beckwith marriage (Land Office, Annapolis).

[14] Early Settlers, XVII, 531 (*ibid.*); RICHARDSON, *Sidelights on Maryland History,* I, 289. There are a number of errors in the present index to Early Settlers at Annapolis.

The records also show a Thomas Miles in the colony in 1657. They do not tell where he lived; but in 1669 we find a person of the same name in Anne Arundel County. One Tobias Miles of Calvert County was indicted by the provincial court of April, 1672, because his dog had bitten Sarah Carr the previous May;[15] whilst the earliest will we have found by one bearing this patronymic is that of a Tobias Miles, in Anne Arundel County. It is dated August 16, 1691, and was probated on March 16, 1692. He had a considerable landed estate. A part of it, called "Brantry" (that is, Bantry), was left to his younger son, then under eighteen years of age, who bore the same name as his father.[16] Again a "Tobias Miles, son of Tobias Miles," is remembered in the will (probated on February 16, 1666) of Nicholas Hammond of Calvert County.[17] If these people belonged to the same family, as they probably did, it would seem from the names Carr and Bantry that they were of Irish origin, or had Irish connections. Tobias would be a rather singular baptismal name for a Catholic, whilst there is something of a tradition to the effect that the Miles in Calvert and Anne Arundel counties were Quakers.

A will of Henry Miles of Somerset County (dated March 18, 1696, and probated February 20, 1697,) shows that he was a fairly well-to-do planter.[18] One William Miles, a sailor or ship carpenter living in Kent County in 1697, seems really to have belonged to Som-

[15] *Maryland Archives,* (in the order recorded above) X, 534; II, 228; XXXIX, 676.

[16] Baldwin, *Maryland Calendar of Wills,* IV, 236.

[17] *Ibid.,* I, 33.

[18] *Ibid.,* II, 126.

erset County.[19] Most likely he was a relation of Henry. We have discovered no suggestion regarding the religion of these people. It is noteworthy, however, that there were then, as there are now, few Catholics in that part of Maryland.

Miles River, in Talbot County, was known by that name before 1675. So do we find a noted plantation in the same county called "Miles End" prior to 1700. Doubtless they got their names from some early colonists of that patronymic who had attained no little influence in the province.

Saint Mary's County, the first established in the colony, was always strongly Catholic, and the Miles there seem certainly to have been of the same faith as the greater number of their neighbors. Although they had evidently been in the county for many years, the earliest will we have found in its records by one of the name is that of John Miles. It bears the date of February 20, 1697, and was probated on March 16, 1697. He left six children—James, John, Nicholas, Henry, Edward, and a daughter whose name is not given. James was the eldest, for he was bequeathed the "home plantation." The remainder of the estate was equally divided among his four brothers and sister. The fact that no mention is made of the wife in the will indicates that John Miles was a widower at the time of his death; while the appointment of his son John as the guardian of some of his brothers and his sister until they should attain their majority shows that the children were still largely minors.[20]

[19] *Maryland Archives,* XXV, 599; BALDWIN, *op. cit.,* III, 172.

[20] BALDWIN, *op. cit.,* II, 133. This John Miles seems to have been the son of the Nicholas Miles mentioned earlier. The father appears to have died intestate.

A recurrence of the same first or Christian names in families of the same patronymic points clearly to a relationship, or common origin. It is one of the best helps to the genealogist. For this reason, though perhaps it could not now be proved, we are inclined to believe that this John Miles, to whose will we have just referred, was one of the early American progenitors of the Right Rev. Richard Pius Miles. The names John, Nicholas, Henry, and Edward are frequently repeated among the bishop's relatives. It is a family tradition that he was descended from the Miles of Saint Mary's County. So is it on record that some of his kinsmen went from that locality to Kentucky. Indeed, some years ago there were a number of families of that name in central Kentucky who claimed relationship with him, and whose forbears were said to have gone west from the counties of Charles and Saint Mary's.

Next in chronological order comes the will of Francis Miles of Saint Mary's County. It bears no date, but it was probated on September 23, 1700.[21] He left two small plantations, known respectively as "Miles Meadow" and "Back Acres", to his grandson Francis, son of John Miles. In case of Francis' death without issue, "Back Acres" were to go to Robert, son of John Wiseman; and "Miles Meadow" to Mary, daughter of John Miles; and should she die without issue, to John, son of John Miles. Catherine Wiseman, a daughter, was bequeathed personalty.

The will of Susanna Miles of the same county is dated February 23, 1702, and was probated on June 2, 1702. She left her plantation, known as "Halford's Folly", to her daughter Catherine, wife of Edward

[21] *Ibid.*, II, 197.

Horne. Robert, son of John Wiseman, and Mary, daughter of John and Margery Miles, received some personalty. The two last legatees, it will be recalled, had benefitted by the testament of Francis Miles, a circumstance that suggests a relationship between him and the present testator, Susanna Miles. It is quite possible that she was his wife; that she was a widow when she married him; and that she had a daughter by her previous marriage, the Mrs. Catherine Horne to whom she gave her real estate.[22]

These two last wills deserve to be considered in connection with another fact noticed at this time. From the days of the insurrection of John Coode, in 1689, and the appointment of Lionel Copley as governor by the English crown two years later, Catholics were debarred from holding public office. Yet we find a John Miles, almost certainly the son of the Francis Miles mentioned above, filling such a position in 1696. It is but natural to wonder if he did not sell his faith for worldly honor and profit, and if this were not the reason for which he was passed over in the wills of Francis and Susanna Miles, though his children were remembered in them. In all ages there have been those who forsook God for mammon.[23]

Be this as it may, the fidelity of the Miles of Saint Mary's County to the faith, no less than their social standing may be seen from their intimate associations,

[22] *Ibid.*, II, 239. These people seem evidently to have been the Miles brought or sent over by Charles Calvert I. It would appear that Francis Miles' first wife died,and that he married again.

[23] *Maryland Archives,* XX, 540. However, in justice to John Miles, it should be noted that the test oath for office holders was introduced only in 1699. Thus he might have held the position of public trust without too much of a sacrifice of his religion.

as shown in the public records, with the best Catholic families in the colony. Such relations meant much at that day. From Saint Mary's County descendants of the first settlers of the name gradually made their way northward into Charles County, and thence into western Prince George's. In these two counties also they were not only held in high regard, but were counted as well among the truest members of the Church.

As in the case of their namesakes mentioned earlier in the chapter, so in that of the Miles of southwestern Maryland there are reasons for believing that they had a Celtic strain in their blood; and that, though very likely of different creeds, these various families were close friends, if not even related. The Catholic Miles are mentioned more than once in connection with persons who were evidently Irish either by birth or by descent.

In the Maryland militia during the Revolution we find a soldier with the significant name of "Murphey" (Murphy) Miles, but we do not know from what part of the colony he hailed.[24] Tobias Miles of Calvert County had a son and a grandson called John. Several of the Miles in Saint Mary's and Charles counties bore the same personal designation. Thomas is a name found in all these places; and Bishop Miles had a brother and a nephew so called. There were at least three Henry Miles in Somerset County, which was quite a common name among the Miles of Charles and Saint Mary's. So were there two landed estates known as "Miles End"—one in Talbot and the other in Charles County.

Although they do not afford positive proof, these facts appear to be more than a case of mere coincidence.

[24] *Maryland Archives,* XVIII, 232.

They seem clearly to point in the direction indicated. As in England, so perhaps in Maryland there were then few Catholic families without relations who did not belong to the faith. In Ireland also, than which no country in the world has suffered more in defense of its religion, homes were sometimes divided by lapses from the Church. A like division not infrequently occurred through the conversion of the invader from England. The original Miles, there can be no doubt, were of unmixed British blood; but it is a matter of history that more than one person of that name went over to the Emerald Isle, where they became the forefathers of some of the principal families in the land.[25] Thus possibly, through intermarriage or conversion, we have the explanation of the apparent difference of religion among the Miles in the Baltimore Palatinate and of their Irish connections.

In Maryland, after the power of government was taken out of the hands of Catholics, there was tolerance for all except those who had founded the colony on a basis of religious toleration. They were disqualified from holding public office, deprived of the franchise, forbidden to erect churches, permitted to worship only under the roofs of their own homes, fettered by every kind of penalty. Even the right to have a private chapel in or attached to one's house came from the English parliament, which refused its consent to the more drastic legislation of the colonial assembly forbidding all Catholic worship.[26] Those were cruel days. May their like be never seen again.

[25] O'Hart, *Irish Pedigrees, passim.*
[26] *Maryland Archives,* XXVI, 340-341, and 431-432.

It was the misfortune of Maryland that she fell all too often into the hands of unscrupulous and predatory adventurers. Under their influence pernicious laws were enacted. Well-meaning Protestants opposed such legislation; but they could not stem the tide of prejudice. The well-springs of public opinion had been too thoroughly poisoned by false, tireless, and not infrequently malicious propaganda against Catholicity.

Yet, under the guidance of their Jesuit missionaries, the Catholics of the colony, for the greater part, proved faithful to their religion. In spite of the ostracism, handicaps, and even hardships against which they had to contend, they increased in numbers. Their industry and intelligence, their respect for law, their honest dealing and blameless lives not only wrested admiration from even the enemy, but also made them perhaps the most highly regarded and influential element in the province.

There is reason for believing that the ancestors of Bishop Miles and their connections contributed not a little towards the attainment of this good repute. No record has been discovered that would cast a shadow upon their fair name. They held no civic positions, it is true; neither could they under the law. However, the Miles of Maryland and their descendants seem to have had little desire for such honors, for it is seldom that we find one in public office, whether in their home land or in the place of their adoption. They rather ambitioned to do good and to serve in a private capacity, be it in the Church or in the State. This was an admirable trait of Nashville's first bishop. Not many years ago one used frequently to hear it said of him that he made a splendid superior, that his confrères loved to serve under

him, that he consistently sought to avoid dignities, and that he accepted authority only under obedience.

The Catholic Church, whilst somewhat monarchical in form, is essentialiy democratic in spirit. She is adaptable to every kind of government, for she recognizes all legitimate authority as derived from God. It was her inborn spirit of democracy that made her adherents in the English colonies of America rally so nobly to the cause of liberty when the break came between them and the mother-country. Despite the intolerance and burdensome laws to which they had long been subjected by their fellow citizens, the Catholics of Maryland forgot their grievances at the call of duty and patriotism. None flocked to the standard of freedom in proportionately greater numbers or proved themselves braver than they. Their heroism, fortitude, and perseverance form a bright chapter in our history, both civic and ecclesiastical.

Albeit a peace-loving people, the Miles were not among the slowest or least resolute to take up arms in defense of the rights of the province. There were not many of that patronymic in the former palatinate. Yet we discover a goodly number of the name engaged in the struggle for liberty.

In the Maryland revolutionary muster-roll, for instance, we find mention of Edward, Frederick, Henry, "Henry of Joseph", Jacob, James, John, Joshua, "Murphey" (Murphy), Nicholas, Richard, Thomas, Walter, and William Miles.[27] The Christian or given name of Frederick appears three times; that of John, apparently a favorite in the family, eight times; Joshua four times; Walter three times; Nicholas, Richard

[27] *Ibid.*, XVIII, *passim.*

and William each twice. The name of Joshua is also given four times in the *Journal and Correspondence of the Maryland Council of Safety,*[28] and thrice in the *Journal and Correspondence of the Council of Maryland;* that of Henry in the latter document once; and that of Nicholas twice.[29] It goes without saying, of course, that the repetition of the first name does not always designate a different person. Yet when it occurs often, or in distinct records, we have an indication that it refers to more than one soldier.

It should also be borne in mind, in the same connection, that it is generally admitted that our revolutionary records are incomplete, and that they were imperfectly kept. Thus the above shows how nobly the Miles, in proportion to their numbers, rallied to the sacred cause of independence. As a rule, they enlisted early, and fought until victory crowned their efforts. One Joshua Miles of the "Western Shore" became a captain. Still another, it would seem, of the same name, who belonged to Harford County, attained the rank of first lieutenant. A Nicholas Miles, apparently of Charles County, served as second lieutenant; while one of the John Miles and Walter Miles were corporals.

A different story is told of Robert Miles, a butcher at Annapolis. In May, 1779, he was placed under arrest on the charge of having expressed sentiments "inimical to the cause of America." However, he soon secured his release from prison under a bail of

[28] *Ibid.,* XI, 387, 538, and XII, 25, 170.

[29] *Ibid.,* XXI, 6, 7, 157, 327, 62, 414. The name "Levin Miles" also appears several times in these revolutionary records; but, as there were strong reasons for suspecting that it was an error, and that the real name of this man was Levin Mills, we did not give him in the list of Miles who served in the war.

three hundred pounds. His bondsmen were James Reid and Henry Sibel.[30] But whence came this Miles of apparent Tory inclination, or whether the charge against him were true, we did not discover. Anyway, accusations made at a time of such excitement should not be too readily accepted. We should be slow to impugn his honesty, even granted that the indictment was based on fact. There were many who were Tories by sincere conviction, for they sincerely questioned the wisdom of the Revolution, as well as doubted the possibility of its success.

That the Miles failed to attain higher positions in the American forces may be attributed to various reasons. First, be it said to their credit, they were patriots, not men of ambition. They enlisted in the cause on its own merits, not for personal gain. They sought not glory, but the autonomy of their country. So again it could hardly be expected that religious prejudices and intolerance would undergo so sudden and violent a change that the oppressed should receive equal promotion almost overnight. Time was needed for such a modification of sentiment and righting of wrongs. As a matter of fact, the old-time bias still exists in parts of the country.

Perhaps it could not now be shown that Nicholas Miles, father of the subject of this biography, bore arms in the American Revolution. The name appears in the Maryland records; but it seems always to refer to a soldier of Charles County, while the bishop's father, at this juncture, lived in Prince George's.[31] Even if

[30] *Ibid,* XXI, 401, 409, 423.

[31] Although it appears that there was a Nicholas Miles of military age in Charles County through the war, it is not improbable that the

he did not actually engage in the conflict, one may rest assured that, like his fellow Catholics and connections, he was deeply in sympathy with the cause of independence, and that he contributed his quota towards its attainment by way of assisting his native colony to carry on the struggle. He was a man of four or five and thirty years of age, and married, when the war began. It has been handed down to us that he was a husband with strong family affection. Tradition has wreathed a halo around his brow as one of the brave men who helped to free his country from bondage.

The scanty records point to Saint Mary's or Charles County as the birthplace of Nicholas Miles; and the date of his birth, 1740 or 1741, suggests the first locality, for it would seem that branches of the family had begun to move northward only a short time before. Possibly he was brought up in Charles County. There are indications that he was married twice; but if this be true, nothing is known of his first wife. The maiden name of the second Mrs. Miles, however, was Miss Ann Blackloc. For the date of this marriage Father Martin P. Spalding, O.P., gives July 23, 1771, which is apparently correct.[32] It proved a happy union. Nicholas Miles himself was a splendid type of the southern

father of Nashville's ordinary lived there at its outbreak. So it is possible that it was he whose name is given in the records, that he signed from Charles County, and that his place of registry was not changed. After all, it is admitted that the revolutionary records are far from complete.

[32] A photographic reproduction of the census of Prince George's County, in 1776 (page 87 of Gaius M. Brumbaugh's *Maryland Records: Colonial, Revolutionary, and Church*), gives Nicholas Miles' age as thirty-five, and that of his wife Ann as twenty-eight. It also shows two children, a son aged ten years, and a daughter aged three. Seven years between children would have been remarkable at that day, unless some had died in the meantime. If the boy were a son of Ann

gentleman in colonial days. Ann Blackloc's character may be judged by the fact that she left in Kentucky a lasting reputation of a lady who possessed all the virtues that grace a Christian home.

Just where the marriage occurred we could not ascertain; but we find the young couple settled in Prince

Blackloc, she was eighteen years of age when he was born. She was forty-three when she gave birth to Bishop Miles. This would also be somewhat singular, if her first child were born when she was only eighteen.

For these reasons, one is antecedently inclined to believe that Nicholas Miles was married twice. If Father Spalding's statement is correct, as it very likely is, the question is settled. Father Spalding was born at Bardstown, Kentucky, in the neighborhood of which, as will be seen later, Bishop Miles was brought up. About thirty-five years ago, while stationed at Saint Rose's, in Kentucky, he began to collect data on the early fathers of the province, and took a particular interest in Bishop Miles. There were then a number of more or less near relations of the bishop still living around Bardstown. Doubtless it was from family records, or a family Bible, in the possession of some of these relatives that Father Spalding obtained his information.

The Catholic church records of that period have all been destroyed by fires. The colonial law of Maryland, and even the early state law, did not require a marriage license from the civil government, provided the banns of the intended marriage were proclaimed in a place of worship. This may explain why a diligent search failed to discover any trace of that sort of the marriage between Nicholas Miles and Ann Blackloc.

Blackloc seems to have been quite an uncommon name in Maryland, for we found it in only three instances. Thomas "Blacklock" was a witness to the will of Paul Busey of Prince George's County in 1718. Nicholas "Blacklock" died in Charles County in 1799, leaving eight children, one of whom was named Nicholas and another Ann. Benjamin Caiwood was their guardian, and also, together with John Spalding, executor of the estate. Another Nicholas "Blacklock", son of the former, died in the same county in 1818. These Blacklocs or Blacklocks of Charles County seem to have had connections in Virginia. Possibly, therefore, Ann Blackloc was a Virginian and a convert.

We had much trouble in ascertaining the name of Bishop Miles' mother. Several descendants of his sisters thought it was Blackloc. Finally Mrs. Florida Young of Bloomfield, Kentucky, a great-grandniece, was discovered. Though a non-Catholic, she knew the family history well. Her grandfather, Thomas Blackloc Miles, a nephew of

George's County in 1776.[33] There they were blessed with seven children, four girls and three boys, who attained mature ages. Of Miles' early avocation we know only that records of the day call him a carpenter; which, at that epoch, often meant one whom we would now term a builder.[34] It must have been so in his case, for his occupation brought him a snug competency that combined with his sterling character to make him one of the influential men in the western part of Prince George's County.

Nicholas Miles, it seems, plied his business for six years or more after his marriage to Ann Blackloc. In 1788, however, he purchased a farm of some three hundred and fifty acres from Thomas Young, possibly of the noted family stem of Catholic Youngs who owned immense tracts of land in southern Maryland.[35] The plantation bought by Miles appears to have lain not far below the District of Columbia, and in the vicinity of the Potomac River. The first census of the United States, got up in 1790 in order to determine how many members each of the thirteen original commonwealths might send to the national congress, gives him six chil-

the bishop, was called Blackloc from the bishop's mother. Similarly, she said, the bishop had a brother called Edward Blackloc Miles, the Blackloc being given him in honor of his mother. This Edward Blackloc Miles is buried at Bloomfield. In the records at Bardstown, the county seat, his name is generally given as Edward B. Miles; but two or three times it is given as Edward Blackloc Miles. Mrs. Young insisted that the name should be spelled "Blackloc;" and we have followed the old spelling out of reverence.

[33] BRUMBAUGH, *Maryland Records: Colonial, Revolutionary and Church*, p. 87.

[34] Deed of Thomas Young to Nicholas Miles, Recorder's Office, Marlboro, Maryland, Liber H. H., No. I. pp. 249-251; and deed of Nicholas Miles to Joseph Messenger, Marlboro, Liber H. H., No. III. pp. 586-589.

[35] Deed of Thomas Young to Nicholas Miles as in the preceding note. The deed is dated January 4, 1788.

dren (two sons and four daughters), and makes him the owner of eight colored slaves.[36]

The subject of our sketch had not yet come into the world; but he was born shortly afterwards, May 17, 1791, being the last of the children.[37] At his baptism he received the Christian name of Richard. However, a few years after the future bishop's birth, his father joined in the tide of emigration from Maryland to Kentucky, and took him to the new west.

[36] *The First Census of the United States, 1790: Maryland*, p. 96.

[37] Because of the destruction, by fires, of all records at the Maryland Catholic missions that go back to this time, the date of the bishop's baptism or birth can not be found at any of these places. The above date of his birth, however, is that given in many brief accounts of his life. Father Martin P. Spalding, O.P., also has it in his notes, and it is probable that he got it from a family Bible. After the sixth provincial council of Baltimore, convened on May 9, 1846, the Catholic papers of the country gave an account of the event, together with the names of the bishops who attended it, and the places and dates of their births. Of Bishop Miles, for instance, the *Catholic Advocate* of May 23, 1846, says: "Right Rev. Richard Pius Miles, Bishop of Nashville, born in Maryland, 17th May, 1791." *The United States Catholic Magazine* (Baltimore), for June, 1846, has the same. Undoubtedly this date is official, first-hand, and correct.

CHAPTER II

KENTUCKY AND HIS BOYHOOD THERE

TRIBULATIONS are often blessings in disguise sent by the Ruler of the universe for purposes little dreamed of at the time when they try the courage of souls. Such, there is every reason to believe, was the War of the American Revolution. The Church was then in evil plight throughout the English-speaking world. In England and Ireland, it is true, her condition had somewhat bettered through a gradual abatement of religious prejudices, the repeal of some of the penal statutes, and the suffering of others to remain in abeyance. Yet in both countries the lot of the Catholics was still hard almost beyond human endurance. In the American colonies, with the exception of Pennsylvania, their trials rather increased than diminished. Indeed, at this period intolerance was even more rampant in them than in the mother-country. Is it not then probable that the Revolution was sent by an unseen power for the religious betterment and the happiness of the world?

The literature of that day shows beyond peradventure of doubt that anti-Catholic bias had much more to do with the Revolution than our historians are generally willing to admit. The Quebec Act, by which tolerance was granted to Catholics in the former French possessions, and the later decree of the British parliament that forbade the occupation of the Ohio Valley by the inhabitants of the original English settlements along the

Atlantic seaboard, threw these colonies into a veritable furore. An anti-Catholic mania took possession of the popular mind, which played a large part in fanning into open rupture the resistance to the principle of taxation without representation.[1] It is quite probable that, had there been no Quebec Act, the break between England and her American dependencies would have been long delayed.

For this reason, a loyal citizen of the United States can hardly look upon the spirit of intolerance at that particular time otherwise than in the light of a godsend in disguise. By mere accident, of course, this animus brought blessings to both Church and State. It was slow to change—so slow indeed that it perhaps prevented a part at least of Canada from joining us in the struggle for independence. As a matter of fact, the ugly temper succumbed only under the combined force of dire necessity, the assistance given us by France, and the influence of such men as George Washington.

Incidentally the baneful effects of religious intolerance at this epoch taught England as well as the United States a useful and needed lesson. Doubtless it is to the experience gained through the American Revolution that is largely to be attributed the broader policy which has marked Great Britain's government of her foreign possessions since that period. At home also, despite relentless opposition, the contest for Catholic emancipation grew in volume and intensity until 1829, when it was finally crowned with victory.

[1] Throughout the length and breadth of the colonies the pulpits rang with the most virulent denunciations of the Quebec Act and the Catholic Church, while the country was flooded with pamphlets of the same character.

The new American republic was quicker to act. In the earliest congress of the youthful state ten amendments were made to its lately adopted constitution, the first of which declares: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." This was in 1789. A little later (1791), through the ratification of the required two-thirds of the original thirteen states, the amendment became a part of the country's fundamenal law. For more than a century and a quarter has the statute not only stood the test of time, but even helped to make our constitution a model for those of other countries. May it ever remain a primal keystone as well to adorn our social fabric as to bind the land together in a peaceful, happy, united, and prosperous people.

It was befitting that the subject of our narrative should have been born in the very year in which the principle of religious toleration was incorporated in the constitution. We should search in vain for a more kindly, charitable, and practical exponent of tolerance than was he in his daily life. Thoroughly Catholic, he claimed that right for himself, and he readily extended it to others. It was in part this trait that enabled him to gain the hearty good-will of every community in which he lived.

Meanwhile, now that the clouds of war had dispersed, the ways of peace had resumed their even tenor, no intolerant laws guided the selection of homes, and no parliamentary prohibition held the colonists back from the west, the call of the fertile lands beyond the Alleghany and Cumberland mountains became irresistible. The earliest large stream of immigration

was into Kentucky.[2] Among the pioneer settlers were many Catholics, who felt that priests would soon follow in their wake, and that thus they could better their worldly fortunes without a sacrifice of their religion.

With its fascinating legends of the battlefields and hunting-grounds of the aboriginal American; the traditions of its fearless explorer, Daniel Boone; the character of its bold, hardy pioneer hunters; and the spirit of its brave and picturesque backwoodsmen, the story of Kentucky never lacks interest. The early annals of few of our states are so rich in a charm ever old, and yet always new. However, in a work like this we can do no more than give a brief outline of its early history, especially the Catholic part of it, as a background for the narrative.

More than likely the first white men who set foot within the territory now comprised in that state were French. In 1673, Louis Joliet, accompanied by the noted Jesuit missionary, Father James Marquette, made his historic voyage of exploration down the Mississippi River. By some they are thought to have landed at the juncture of the great "Father of Waters" and the Ohio, where they visited the wandering Shawnees. Others again think it probable that Robert de la Salle touched the western part of what is now Kentucky in 1680 or 1681. Possibly, too, Father James Gravier, S. J., sojourned a while with the mild and peaceful Shawnees on a journey along the Mississippi in 1700.[3]

[2] The immigration into Tennessee was earlier than that into Kentucky, but it was not so great in volume.

[3] WEBB, *The Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky*, pp. 13-14; COLLINS, *History of Kentucky*, I, 14-15. Shea (*History of the Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, pp. 314-315) does not think that Marquette landed at

Be this as it may, from that time until fifty years later rarely, if ever, was the solemn silence of Kentucky's primeval forests broken by the tread of human feet other than those of the roving Indian.

However, the country had become known to the English on the Atlantic seaboard before the outbreak of the Revolutionary War. The second half of the eighteenth century was not far advanced when adventurous hunters, fur traders and even surveyors began to make their way over the mountains, and descended the streams in their westward course. Gradually they penetrated into what is now central Kentucky. Such names as Mooney and Fitzpatrick not only show the presence of the ubiquitous Irishman, but also suggest that there must have been an occasional Catholic among the earliest explorers, nearly all of whom were from Virginia and North Carolina. Following these adventurers, perhaps instigated by the reports they brought back about the rare beauty, the extraordinary fertility, and the genial climate of the country, home-seekers from Maryland as well as from the two states just mentioned soon commenced to set up their tents in the "land of hill and vale."[4]

While, as in all pioneer settlements, there were rough characters among them, never perhaps was there a people of a more chivalrous, daring, and fearless spirit than the first white inhabitants of Kentucky. Nor were they without need of dauntless courage. Regarded as ene-

the mouth of the Ohio. See also a reference to a letter from Shea to Collins in the latter's *History of Kentucky*, I, p. 509. The statements that the Spaniards and English were in Kentucky at a very early date seem to have no historical probability.

[4] Later, settlers came from farther south, north and east, and even from Europe; but the great bulk of them was from Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina.

mies and usurpers by roving bands of red men who traversed the country in every direction, they lived, so to express it, with their lives in their hands. These dangers were abated from late in 1782, when General George Rogers Clark inflicted a severe defeat upon the Indian allies of the English north of the Ohio. Yet not until General Anthony Wayne's historic victory over the Miamis and allied tribes on the Maumee River, August 20, 1794, and the treaty of Greenville, in 1795, could the frontiersman of Kentucky feel that he was free from the peril of redskins ambushed in the forests.[5]

The ban placed by the parliament of Great Britain on emigration to the west was intended largely at least to keep the people of its earlier colonies out of the country formerly claimed by the French. Not unlikely the measure was taken in part as a means of fulfilling an article of the Treaty of Paris (February 10, 1763), whereby England guaranteed liberty of conscience and freedom of worship to the inhabitants, whether white or red, of the territory ceded by France. This delicate task could not with prudence have been entrusted to the English settlements, or even successfully executed, had their people been permitted to take up homes at will in that part of America.

However, the inhibition received scant respect as regards Kentucky. Yet emigration thither, properly speaking, did not begin until 1774, when the bonds between the colonies and the mother-country were near the breaking point. Among the earliest emigrants, there can be no doubt, were adherents of the faith of

[5] Spalding, *Sketches of the Early Catholic Missions of Kentucky*, pp. 18-21; Collins, *op. cit.*, I, 257, and II, 139-140, 769; Bryant, *A Popular History of the United States*, IV, 116-118; Elson, *History of the United States*, II, 225-226.

Lord Baltimore's original palatinate. Still the first Catholics, of whom we have any definite record, to settle there were Doctor George Hart, William Coomes and family, and perhaps Abraham and Isaac White. They moved westward in the spring of 1775. Coomes was a native of Maryland, but went to Kentucky from Virginia. Hart was born in Ireland, and had made his home in Maryland. He was probably Kentucky's first physician. Similarly Mrs. Coomes appears to have been the state's first school-teacher.[6]

While, as the Hon. Ben. J. Webb suggests, members of the same religion could doubtless have been found in the steady stream of home-seekers that flowed into that region for ten years after the above date, the real Catholic emigration began in 1785. At the outset, they were nearly all from Maryland, and principally from Saint Mary's, Charles, and Prince George's counties.[7]

Still, other parts of the former Baltimore Colony contributed their quota towards Kentucky's early Catholic population. Washington County may serve as an instance. We learn from a letter of the pastor at Saint Mary's, Hagerstown, that by the summer of 1796 the parish had become depleted through emigration. Few of the faith remained, other than those who had not the means to go west. Hagerstown was a center whence various stations were attended in northern Maryland and southern Pennsylvania. Now Father Bodkin recommended that it should be made a mission, and Emmitsburg appointed as the place of residence for the priest.[8]

6 SPALDING, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-24; WEBB, *op. cit.*, 24-25.

7 SPALDING, *op. cit.*, p. 25; WEBB, *op. cit.*, pp. 24, 26.

8 Rev. Francis Bodkin, O.P., Hagerstown, Maryland, to Bishop Carroll, Baltimore, July 5, 1796, (Baltimore Diocesan Archives, Case 1, T. 5).

We may form some idea of the exaggerated reports spread abroad about the new west from the fact that many were induced to leave a country so wholesome and beautiful and a soil so productive as that in the neighborhood of Hagerstown. It was believed that wealth surely awaited those who went to Kentucky. Rumor, in fact, pictured the land beyond the mountains as a veritable agricultural El Dorado. As Bishop Spalding elegantly expresses it:

> The reports carried back to Virginia and Maryland by the first adventurers who had visited Kentucky, were of so glowing a character as to stimulate many others to emigrate thither. The new country was represented as a sort of promised land, with exuberant and fertile soil; and if not flowing with milk and honey, at least teeming with all kinds of game. This rich country now lay open to the enterprising activity of the white man; and its fertile lands could be obtained by occupation, or purchased for a mere trifle; and the emigrants might subsist, like the Indians, by hunting, until the soil could be prepared for cultivation.[9]

It was but natural that these fascinating stories should make a strong appeal to the people in Saint Mary's, Charles, and Prince George's counties, Maryland. Much of the land there, through long and unscientific cultivation, had become greatly impoverished. Accordingly, in 1785, the heads of sixty Catholic families in these three counties, but the greater number residents of Saint Mary's, formed a league, and pledged themselves to emigrate to Kentucky as circumstances should permit.[10] They were aware of the dangers they would have to encounter, not on the way only, but even after they had settled in their new homes. With the tales of the beauty, climate, and productiveness of this earthly paradise were interspersed those of the horrors

[9] *Op cit.*, p. 22.

[10] Webb, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

committed by the red man. But that was America's age of chivalry. Such perils could not chill the growing spirit of adventure in the brave hearts that had just thrown off the yoke of dependence.

Like their forefathers who had sacrificed much for conscience' sake, these sturdy Catholic pioneers treasured their faith above every worldly possession. They realized, too, that prudence is the better part of valor. Thus the league of families had a twofold purpose. Settling in the same locality would not merely serve as a protection against bands of Indian marauders; it would likewise the more readily secure the consolations of religion through the services of a priest.

In the association were relations as well as friends of Father John Carroll who had just been appointed prefect apostolic of the United States, and was therefore on the way to become the father of our American hierarchy. Some of the leaders of the alliance no doubt consulted him on the project. Nor could he have failed to praise it. Tradition at least tells us that he encouraged the scheme of Catholic colonization, and promised either to send a clergyman with the first band of settlers, or to procure a pastor for their souls as soon as possible. Be this as it may, he was naturally anxious to build up the Church in the vast extent of territory under his spiritual jurisdiction.

Twenty-five of the sixty families must have left Maryland at once, for we are told that they reached Kentucky the same year in which the league was formed. The remainder followed in the years 1786, 1787, 1788, 1789, 1790, and 1791.[11] Among those who migrated in 1787 or 1788 were Philip Miles and his son

[11] SPALDING, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-27; WEBB, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-28. The *United*

Henry, from near Leonardtown, Saint Mary's County. They were relations of the subject of our narrative, the Right Rev. Richard Pius Miles, Father of the Church in Tennessee.[12] Meanwhile others joined in the emigration, swelling the westward march to enormous proportions. As Bishop Spalding expresses it: "Men and women, young and old, caught up this spirit; and soon nearly half of Virginia and Maryland was in motion for the west." [13]

The rush for "the land of promise" became particularly noticeable after the cessation of danger that came with Wayne's victory and the treaty with the Miamis, in 1794 and 1795. Prior to that time, as the banks of the Ohio between Cincinnati and Louisville were especially infested by Indians, the more ordinary route for the home-seekers was overland to Pittsburgh, and thence down the river in flat boats to Limestone, the present Maysville, Kentucky. From that point the pioneers labored their way through the forests to the properties they had already secured, or to the location wherein they hoped to settle. It was a weary method of travel for even the stout hearts of the past.

So journeyed the first five and twenty families of the league.[14] Of the remainder some no doubt followed the same route. Others braved the greater danger, and

States Catholic Miscellany of December 1, 1824 (Vol. III, pp. 337 ff) has an article on this subject that is full of inaccuracies.

The writer is a lineal descendant, in the fifth generation, of the Leonard Hamilton and Benedict Spalding mentioned on page 27 of Bishop Spalding's *Sketches of the Early Catholic Missions of Kentucky.*

[12] Webb, *op. cit.*, p. 68. Webb nowhere speaks of any connection between Philip Miles and Nicholas Miles, the father of Bishop Miles; but the descendants of these two noted pioneers almost feel that they are still related.

[13] *Op. cit.*, p. 23. [14] Webb, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

descended the river to Louisville. In this way, they lessened their journey by land in Kentucky by nearly two thirds, as well as avoided much of its hardship. Many of the band must have been keenly disappointed when they reached their future homes on Pottinger's Creek, for they were not slow to discover that the soil in this locality, with the exception of a few purchases, was poor in the extreme.

History records much sharp practice in the acquisition and sale of land at that period. Possibly the Catholics who belonged to the above league were victims of such unfair dealing. At any rate, it is generally believed that speculators in the east obtained large areas in Kentucky, and sold this part of it to these prospective colonists by misrepresentation before they left Maryland.[15] The tradition seems well grounded, for otherwise it would be difficult to understand why they settled in so barren a part of the country. Perhaps, however, undue credence in the current reports led them to buy without seeing, for they believed that every part of the ultramontane region was fertile.

Be this as it may, it was now too late to remedy the error. A partial payment had been made, and bonds given for the rest. Few of the settlers, thus deprived of their means, had any option but to remain where they were. Might not the whole affair have been the providence of God who knows that all too often worldly and spiritual wealth do not happily harmonize?

This Catholic colony, called the Pottinger's Creek Settlement from the stream that ran through it, lay in what is now western Marion and southern Nelson County. It was the first formed in the state, and at the date

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 32. This tradition still exists.

of its foundation was all in the latter county, which then had many times its present area. In connection with it we have an example of sacrifice on the part of the pioneers of the Church in the west for the sake of their souls that has edified more than one historian. Although the land was of the poorest, and the situation uninviting, many still took up homes there. The nucleus of a large Catholic colony had settled in the locality. Thither therefore they went, in spite of temporal disadvantages, that they might secure the consolations of their religion for themselves and their children.[16]

Some of the later arrivals of the alliance fared better than the first. They did not make their purchases until they reached Kentucky, which enabled them to select more fertile farms in adjacent districts, or even in the bottom-lands along Pottinger's Creek and the little river known as the Rolling Fork. Philip Miles, a near relative, if not a brother, of Nicholas, the bishop's father, seems to have followed this wiser course; for he bought a beautiful home in sight of the present village of New Hope, where his descendants lived until within the memory of the writer. He was a man of fine judgment, and quite possibly Nicholas Miles acted on his advice when he himself determined to move to Kentucky.[17]

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 32; SPALDING, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

[17] We are inclined to think that Philip and Nicholas Miles were brothers. It is said that Bishop Miles claimed near relationship with "Harry" Miles who succeeded his father (Philip) on the plantation near New Hope; and that he always visited him when he came to Kentucky. Edward Miles, a son of Harry, who lived and died on the farm owned first by his grandfather, and then by his father, also claimed a rather close relationship with the bishop. Father Thomas Miles, S.J., a brother of Edward, claimed near kinship with the subject of our narrative. All of which indicates that Harry Miles and the bishop were first cousins, and Philip and Nicholas Miles brothers. The *Catholic*

Most of the Catholic colonists who were not members of the league, more prudent as regards their earthly fortunes, chose other sections of the state for their abodes. Yet with few exceptions, wherever they settled, they purchased contiguous tracts of land from the same motive that inspired the association in Maryland and brought so many together on Pottinger's Creek. Thus this proto-Catholic settlement in Kentucky was followed in quick succession by a number of similar communities.

The colony on Hardin's Creek, Marion County, for instance, and probably that on Elkhorn Creek, Scott County, long known as Saint Francis', began in the following year (1786). The Cartwright's Creek Settlement, in Marion and Washington counties, and that of "Poplar Neck", near Bardstown, Nelson County, had begun before the close of 1787. Then came the one on the Rolling Fork, Marion County, in 1788. The colony near Hardinsburg, Breckinridge County, dates from 1790. Both 1792 and 1795 are given as the date of the birth of the Cox's Creek or Fairfield Settlement, which was in Nelson County.[18]

However, it is noteworthy that, with the exception of Saint Francis', all these Catholic communities took root in what was then Nelson County. This civic division of Kentucky, therefore, holds in the Church of that state the place which Saint Mary's County holds in the Church of Maryland—the cradle of its Catholicity. Nelson was the fourth county established in Ken-

Advocate of February 19, 1885, gives an obituary of "Brother G. Miles", a Jesuit lay brother in Missouri, who, it says, was born in Kentucky, in 1802, and "was a relative of the late Bishop Miles. . . . and of Rev. Thomas H. Miles, S.J."

[18] WEBB, *op. cit.*, p. 26, and *passim.*

tucky, the act being passed by the general assembly of Virginia in 1784, eight years before the erection of the territory into a state, and the name given it in honor of ex-Governor Thomas Nelson.[19] Subsequently, by division and subdivision, it became the parent stem of many other counties. The old cathedral church still remains Bardstown's greatest glory, just as its chief pride is that it was once an episcopal city, whilst its keenest regret is the loss of its dignity as a place of residence for a Catholic bishop.

Thus from Nelson the faith largely spread through Kentucky, in the same way that it had radiated from Saint Mary's through Maryland, whence it passed over the mountains. Indeed, for a number of years Nelson's original seven settlements comprised the greater part of the Catholic population of Kentucky, which Father Badin estimated at about three hundred fam-

[19] Kentucky was the Indian name for that part of the country, which was a common hunting ground for various tribes. Its forests, undergrowth, cane-brakes, and ravines, together with the battles of the aborigines on its soil, have deservedly given the word the meaning, whether right or wrong, of "the dark and bloody ground." The attempt of Colonel Richard Henderson and his company of land speculators, in 1775, to organize more than half of the present state into a separate commonwealth, under the designation of Transylvania, failed dismally; for in 1776 Virginia claimed all the territory now included in the state by virtue of her royal charter, and established it into a county. In 1780, she divided it into three counties, to which she gave the names of Fayette, Lincoln, and Jefferson. In 1784, Nelson was added to the number; in 1785, Bourbon, Mercer, and Madison; and in 1788, Mason and Woodford. In 1790, the country became a distinct part of the Union under the title of "Territory south of the Ohio." In 1792, the State of Kentucky was erected by the national congress, being the first created west of the mountains. The same year (1792), Washington, destined long to be the home of the subject of our narrative, Scott, Shelby, Logan, Clark, Hardin, and Green counties came into existence. During the greater part of this time the struggle for conquest by the whites and defense by the Indians was one of the bravest and most sanguinary in American annals.

ilies as early as 1793.[20] Immigration, still mostly from Maryland, continued to augment the number of the faithful. Later these first colonies sent out nucleuses of other similar settlements into different parts of the state.

Smaller Catholic communities or isolated families were also scattered here and there in widely separated places. Unfortunately, they could seldom be visited by the few missionaries, were out of touch with Catholic influences, and received little or no instruction in their religion. Because of these privations, together with the environments in which they lived, they or their children were soon lost to the Church.

A like sad story has to be told of Saint Francis' (later Saint Pius', and now White Sulphur), in Scott County. That mission seems to have got a wrong start. Webb thinks it had too much wealth, with the resultant spirit of pride.[21] At any rate, every priest in charge of the place had trouble with the people.[22] Catholicity has almost died out in the locality, and it is said that few of those descended from the founders of the colony profess the faith of their forefathers. Perhaps the whole history of that settlement is a verification of the old adage: "The enemies of man are the world, the flesh and the devil."

The seven notable Catholic communities that originated in Nelson County were either already founded or in process of formation when Nicholas Miles, father of the future bishop and apostle of Tennessee, left his home in the east. The precise time of his arrival in Kentucky can not now be ascertained. But the date

20 SPALDING, *op. cit.*, p. 65; WEBB, *op. cit.*, p. 163.
21 WEBB, *op. cit.*, p. 88.
22 Many documents attest this fact.

of the deed for his farm in Prince George's County, Maryland, to the Rev. Joseph Messenger, August 6, 1795, indicates that he started for the west late in that year or early in the next.[23]

No doubt he had been in correspondence with Philip Miles, or other relations and friends among the earlier pioneers. From these he would have learned the difficulty, if not impossiblity, of procuring in the new country household, farm, and other utensils, as well as articles that make for the beauty and comfort of a home. Thus, for he was not only of a practical turn of mind, but also in good circumstances, we may believe that he carried as many of these chattels with him as he well could. Many of the wealthier emigrants at that time took such a precaution. That Nicholas Miles followed this wiser course is suggested by the fact that we discovered no record of any sales by him in Maryland, except that of his farm. It would also indicate that he transported his colored servants at the same time, especially since it would have been expensive to procure such help in a young state still quite unsettled.

Now that danger from Indians was passed, two logical ways lay open for the journey. One was *via* the national highroad to Pittsburgh, and then down the Ohio River in flat boats to Louisville; the other across Virginia, through the Cumberland Gap, and into the almost untouched forests primeval of Kentucky. As he was able to meet the greater expense of the first route, one is inclined to think that he chose it rather than the latter, with the length of time it required, the hardships and ceaseless toil it involved, and the anxiety

[23] Liber J. R. M., No. 3, pp. 586-589, Recorder's Office, Marlboro, Maryland.

incident to the care of the number of persons under his charge.

However, it will be remembered that Nicholas Miles had eight colored slaves in 1790. He probably had more by this time. Possibly, therefore, he may have sent his wife, children, and colored women by the easier way, together with one or two men servants to look after their needs; whilst he himself travelled by the latter route, having with him the rest of the colored men to help with the chattels and guard whatever domestic animals he took to the west. Whichever way he journeyed, the old-time covered emigrant-wagon was indispensable for the portage and protection of the women folk and equipment, whether for house or farm. He was a builder by occupation. Thus, in case he went to Kentucky by the northern route, he and his colored men could themselves have constructed the simple boats on which they descended the Ohio.[24]

The hospitality for which Kentucky is noted was then in its flower. On their arrival, therefore, the wayfarers

[24] The earthly remains of the writer's great grand-father, Joseph O'Daniel, lie somewhere in the Cumberland Gap. He was on his way with his family from Maryland to Kentucky, in the first years of the nineteenth century. When almost through the break in the mountains, he retraced his steps in order to have something made at a blacksmith shop that he had passed only a short distance, but told the family to continue their way, and he would soon overtake them. As he did not return as soon as was expected, they waited for him. Two days or more thus went by. Then his son Joseph (the writer's grandfather) and a colored man went back to look for him. To their horror they learned that he had been captured, taken into the mountains, robbed and slain by thieves, who made away with his fine horse. In those days it was not an uncommon thing for such a catastrophe to befall single travellers or small bodies bound for the west while they were in the fastnesses of the Cumberland Mountains. Unable to recover their loss, the sorrowing family journeyed on to central Kentucky, where they located in the Cartwright's Creek Settlement.

were no doubt sheltered by friends, especially by Philip Miles, until they could secure a home of their own. But it would seem that the head of the newcomers was in no hurry to establish himself definitely. Possibly he wished to get a better idea of the trend of the settlements, and engaged in his former business until he found a location that suited him. No less staunch in his faith than practical in the affairs of the world, the father of the future bishop wanted his homestead within ready reach of the busy priests as well as on good soil. He would have his family, whose souls he prized above earthly treasure, in a place where they would be under the wholesome influence of the Church and able to practise their religion.

As the reader will recall, the Cox's Creek Settlement was the last of the notable Catholic colonies established in the early days of Nelson County. It lay in the northern part of the county, slightly to the east, whence it gradually stretched into the present Spencer County. The country was rolling, beautiful, and well watered; the climate healthy; the soil not only fertile but likewise adapted to almost every kind of produce. Although the settlement was little more than started at the time of Nicholas Miles' arrival in Kentucky, some of Maryland's finest old Catholic families soon began to take up homes there. In 1797, for instance, Clement Gardiner, a wealthy man, purchased a large farm where now stands the town of Fairfield.[25] Doubtless these people had already attracted Father Badin's attention, for Gardiner set apart a large room in his house to serve as a chapel for the neighborhood.

[25] Gardiner purchased his farm, from "Nicholas Paul alias Powell". The deed for it is dated July 3, 1797, and is in Deed Book 7, pp. 191-192, in the Recorder's Office, Bardstown, Kentucky.

Few of the Catholic colonies held out such bright worldly prospects as did that just beginning on Cox's Creek; nor did any give better promise in matters religious. Nicholas Miles did not leave Maryland under stress of need, for he possessed an ample sufficiency on which to live in comfort there. Although advanced in years, he braved the hardships of the western wilds in the interest of his children. He determined therefore to make his home in this newest Catholic settlement, which offered splendid opportunities for them, both temporal and spiritual. Besides, some of the friends of his boyhood and young manhood had located in that vicinity.

Towards the end of 1799, he purchased a farm of somewhat more than two hundred acres from one Zebulon Collings. The fertile tract of land lay on Froman's Creek, a branch of Cox's Creek.[26] It was situated perhaps six miles, a little to the northeast, from Bardstown, the county seat; and not much less west from the present village of Fairfield, that afterwards rose on the farm owned by Clement Gardiner, almost in the center of the settlement. The location must have appealed strongly to Nicholas Miles for his purpose. In those days, Catholics considered themselves fortunate if they were so near a church or chapel. But our anxious father had one on each side of his home; for, besides the station at Clement Gardiner's, there was another at the house of Thomas Gwynn, half way between Miles' and Bardstown, near the site of the present Nazareth Academy. Moreover, Saint Joseph's, a small log structure, stood just outside the capital of the county.

[26] Collings' deed to Miles for the farm is dated December 2, 1799, and is in Deed Book 5, p. 502, in the Recorder's Office, Bardstown, Kentucky.

Eagerness to get settled down in his new home, one may readily believe, caused the good man to take possession of his purchase at once, and to build a house. Doubtless also, like those of even the wealthiest among the pioneers, it was a temporary structure of logs adapted to meet the needs of the family until a more commodious dwelling could be erected.

Here Nicholas Miles began life anew in Kentucky at the age of nearly sixty years. The change must have been no little trial. But that was a hardy period, and he was a man of his time, as well as one who would shrink from no hardship in behalf of his family. The days of fear from raids by Indians were over; the manners of the people had become somewhat less rude. But heroic labor was still required to clear away the forests, fence in the fields, prepare the soil for cultivation, and supply the farm with domestic animals. Protection of the crops and the younger stock from birds and wild beasts offered a serious problem. There were few places of market, little ready money, and few articles of merchandise for sale.

However, these disadvantages were counterbalanced by the ease with which game of every kind could be procured from the forests. The men and boys—often even the women—went armed for this purpose, as also for protection against bears and wildcats or a chance pack of wolves. The table was ever supplied with the choicest venison. Fresh milk and butter were plentiful. The bread was made from the meal of Indian corn cooked in a marvelous variety of ways. It provided a wholesome food on which the pioneers throve.

Fortunately the women were not less brave or industrious than the men. They carded and spun wool and

flax or hemp, raised and prepared by the men, wove it into cloth, and made clothes for the family. The skins of wild animals, particularly those of deer, were not infrequently used for the same purpose. Moccasins often served as shoes. Caps made from the furs of raccoons or rabbits were common articles of apparel. For years all classes and sexes dressed principally in homespun, the cost of overland transportation in the primitive way making finer and more delicate fabrics a rare luxury for even the wealthy. The richest were not too proud to wear at home garments wrought on the spot.

Plain clothes were the custom of the day. The gentler sex did little prinking. Yet the women folk are said to have looked quite neat in the quaint costumes made by their own hands. Perhaps not a few dainty dames of today would be surprised to learn that, in the summer time, their great-grandmothers or even grandmothers in Kentucky went to church with their homemade bonnets decked with the silk, tassel, and green husks of Indian corn. Vanity has ever been the privilege of woman. Still this innocent adornment more than once brought down upon her the denunciation of the zealous missionary.[27]

Cisterns or wells were few, if any. For this reason, the houses or cabins were ever located near a spring. The furniture was ordinarily of the most primitive character. Although that in the Miles home was no doubt somewhat better than the general run, even from the start, the following description gives an idea of the interior of the dwellings of most of the pioneers at the time Nicholas Miles settled in Kentucky.

[27] In days gone by the writer often listened to his grandmother and other old people tell of the scoldings they used to get in sermons for the vanity they displayed in their dress.

No pictures ornamented the bare walls. Stools served the purpose of chairs; the tables were slabs of timber roughly put together; wooden plates and vessels took the place of our modern chinaware. Even the spoons and forks were either wooden or tin. The beds, if not lain on the floor, were placed on rough puncheons, supported by legs of a kind, or by wooden pins fastened in the sides of the house. All these articles were home-made, except the tin forks and spoons, which were few. Long-stemmed gourds, grown on the premises, were used for drinking purposes. Tin cups were a luxury almost as rare as an iron fork. The pocket or hunting knife served at the table as well as in the field or on the chase. Perhaps bear and buffalo skins no longer principally constituted the blankets for the beds; yet these articles were still manufactured at home. Sheets, when present, were a delicacy made of unbleached flax or hemp spun and woven by the ladies of the household.

Such was the *milieu* in which grew up Tennessee's first Catholic bishop, who went to Kentucky when only five years of age. It was a great change from the more elite life in older Maryland, yet a good preparation for the work that lay before him. Besides, his father located happily in the west, for the Cox's Creek Settlement was one of the most faithful to its religion in the state, and offered good temporal advantages. It prospered from the start. An idea of its growth and of the character of the people who founded it may be gleaned from the Hon. Ben. Webb, who writes:

In the year 1800, the Cox's Creek Settlement, afterwards better known as that of *Fairfield,* was composed of between forty and fifty families. The names borne by the heads of these families,

so far as the writer has been able to secure them, were: Clement Gardiner, Nicholas Miles, Thomas Elder, Francis Coomes, Zachariah Aud, Thomas Aud, James Knott, Austin Montgomery, Richard Adams, Thomas Higdon, Austin Clements, Wilfred Wathen, Raphael Hagan, Richard Coomes, Walter Simpson, James Simpson, Archibald Pitt, Richard Jarboe, Valentine Thomson, John Payne, James Speaks, Benedict Smith, Joseph Gardiner, Charles Wathen, Thomas Lilly, John Lilly, Thomas Brewer, Richard Clark, Daniel Rogers, Clement Clark, Ignatius Drury, — Mitchell, Charles Warren, James Spalding, Joseph Clark, — Daugherty, Hezekiah Lucket and Hilary Drury.[28]

To those conversant with the Catholic history of Kentucky this list reveals a community well worthy of note. Some of the best known names in the annals of Catholicity in the state appear there. A number of the persons mentioned were not only exemplary characters; they also deserved well of the Church and their adopted county. Webb speaks of the cluster in terms of special praise, and gives sketches of several of those who composed it. From them or their descendants have come a goodly quota of vocations to the ministry of the Church and to our various sisterhoods.

Nicholas Miles himself was by no means the least worthy or unimportant personage in this group of fine families. God blessed him both temporally and spiritually. Indeed, in spite of his age when he went to the new west, he seems to have prospered more than most of his neighbors. Honest and possessed of an excellent character, in addition to a good mind and judgment, he soon became one of the most influential citizens of Nelson County. If we may trust a still extant tradition, the people admired him, trusted him, and sought his advice. His word was as good as his bond. So far as the writer has ascertained, he held no political posi-

[28] WEBB, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

tion. Possibly, imbued with the true Miles spirit, he wanted none. He did not need such remuneration for the support of his family, and he had little desire for honors.

It has been handed down to us that he was an affectionate husband and a kind father, anxious to bring up his children in the fear and love of God. Doubtless in this duty he found the best of helpmates in his wife, whom tradition represents as an excellent lady and fond mother. Like many of the early Catholic women in Kentucky, she was pious, deeply attached to her religion, and little imbued with the spirit of the world. In short, she was a worthy mother of the worthy son whose life is sketched in these pages.

A family blessed with parents like these could not but be happy. Perhaps their greatest sorrow was the lack of priests properly to attend to the spiritual needs of the people. Kentucky was a distant, lonesome, and arduous field for which it was hard to procure missionaries. Letters show that this problem formed one of Archbishop Carroll's chief difficulties and regrets. Most of those who undertook the task either became disheartened by the trials and left it for other spheres of labor, or sank under the weight of the burden. Much of the time from the date of Nicholas Miles' arrival there (1796), until the summer of 1805, Father Badin was the only priest in the state. Even when he had assistance, the various missions could not be visited oftener than once in a month or six weeks. When he was left alone the intervals between the ministrations were much longer.

Fortunately the people had been well trained in Maryland. Even when there were no divine services on

Sunday, the best Catholics gathered at the church, chapel, or station, where they read the mass prayers, said litanies, and recited the Rosary. The family of Nicholas Miles, one can not doubt, was one of the most faithful in attendance at these pious exercises. Tradition has it that at times mass was offered up in his house; but ordinarily this sacred function was performed at Clement Gardiner's (or Saint Michael's, Fairfield) and Thomas Gwynn's, which were more conveniently situated for the faithful. On such occasions the Miles thought nothing of riding horseback to those places and Saint Joseph's, or even to Poplar Neck, five or six miles the other side of Bardstown.

The sacrifices which the Catholics of that day made for the sake of their religion stand out in bold contrast with the spirit of ease and indifference that characterizes many in our generation. It has been said that in his after life as priest and bishop the subject of our narrative often spoke of how strict his parents were that everyone should attend mass whenever possible. He loved them, and his gratitude went out to them with special force because of the way in which they looked after the interests of his soul.

Another topic on which he loved to dwell was how, in his youthful days, he went to church riding horseback behind his father or mother, or an older brother or sister. Not infrequently the father of a family would take one child in his lap, while another, or even two, were perched behind him, their little legs dangling down by the horse's side. It was a heroic time that made staunch men and women.

One of the greatest problems with which the pioneers of Kentucky had to contend was the education of their

children. Still, largely thanks to Irish schoolmasters who emigrated to America in numbers, more than one intellectual giant was reared in the backwoods of that state. No doubt the same difficulty gave Nicholas anxious moments. Some of his children were past the school age when he moved west. There the older girls very likely followed the custom among the better families of the day, and helped the mother to instruct their younger brothers and sisters. It has also been handed down to us that Nicholas Miles kept a private tutor at his home. The tradition is borne out by the fact that Richard had laid the foundations of a good education by the time the Dominicans arrived in the neighborhood.

Nicholas Miles, as has been seen, fared well in Kentucky—perhaps even beyond his fondest hopes. In 1812 he added another small tract of land to his former possessions. But in the next year, possibly unable longer to look after his farm because of age, he seems to have purchased some acres where the town of Bloomfield now stands, and to have started a country store.[29] At any rate, there is something of a tradition to the effect that he died while engaged in business there, and that he and his son Edward were among the founders of the town, if it does not even owe its existence to their initiative. The old homestead of Edward Miles, almost palatial in size and appearance, still stands just outside Bloomfield. We could not discover whether it was built by him or by his father.[30]

29 Deed Book 9, p. 476, and Deed Book 10, pp. 48-50, in Recorder's Office, Bardstown, Kentucky.

30 Will Book E, pp. 28-29, Recorder's Office, Bardstown Kentucky, gives the will of Nicholas Miles, It is dated February 27, and was probated October 20, 1823. His wife Ann and son Edward were execu-

Meanwhile the children married into some of the best Catholic families in Nelson County. Charity, the first to leave the parental home, was united in marriage to Ralph Lancaster by Father Badin on April 21, 1798. Milly, or Matilda, became the wife of Clement Hagan, February 4, 1799, Father Badin officiating again. Thomas married Christina Gardiner, daughter of Clement Gardiner, whose house long served as a station for the people of Cox's Creek Settlement. This was on December 9, 1805. Father Badin also presided at this ceremony. When Mary joined in wedlock with Robert Livers, November 3, 1806, she obtained the ministration of Father Charles Nerinckx. The tireless Badin, who ordinarily attended that mission, must have been on an apostolic tour in another part of the state.[31]

It was a common thing in those days for one daughter to remain single, at least until comparatively late in life, and play the rôle of good angel to the rest of the family. Ann Miles, unless she were the youngest girl, would seem to have taken this part in the home of her parents; for the register shows that she married Daniel Smith on June 23, 1815. Father John B. David, later coadjutor bishop of Bardstown, performed the ceremony for her.[32] The inscription on the tombstone of

tors. They gave a bond for eight thousand dollars. Thomas Miles and Robert Livers were their securities.

[31] Manuscript list of early marriages in Nelson County (in County Clerk's Office, Bardstown) got up by William J. Dalmazzo from the records in the court house.

[32] See preceding note. The careful Webb is in error when he says (*op. cit.*, p. 79) that this daughter of Nicholas Miles was named Catherine. Doubtless, however, he is correct in the statement that Daniel Smith belonged to Washington County, and later moved to Louisville, where he became one of the pillars of Saint Louis' Church. The descendants of Nicholas Miles through these various marriages, like those of practically all the pioneer settlers of Kentucky, are scattered in many parts of the United States.

himself and wife Rebecca shows that Edward B. Miles married still later, and that she died first; while the settlement of his estate reveals the fact that he left no children.

But God had a higher vocation in store for good Nicholas Miles' youngest child, Richard. Tradition, both in the family and in Saint Joseph's Province of Friars Preacher, represents him as a clever boy much given to piety. Possibly he was one of Father Badin's altar boys for the stations at Thomas Gwynn's and at Clement Gardiner's. The zealous missionary's busy life left him little time to do much in the way of fostering vocations, which may have turned the mind of the pious youth towards the Order of Saint Dominic, instead of the priesthood in the ranks of the diocesan clergy. Of this, however, future pages will tell.

CHAPTER III

GOES TO SAINT ROSE'S

PERHAPS we can not begin this chapter better than with a relation of the circumstances that led the Dominicans to Kentucky contrary to their original plans. This course will involve a repetition, it is true, of much that has been told in the *Life of the Right Rev. Edward Dominic Fenwick,* founder of Saint Rose's, and later the first bishop of Cincinnati. Still the plan is no less necessary as a historical setting for any complete sketch of the Father of the Church in Tennessee than it was for the story of the apostle of Ohio. No man can be properly understood without a knowledge of his environments, and of the various currents of influence that flowed into the stream of his life.

One of the prime motives that inspired the league of sixty families in Maryland for emigrating to Kentucky was the more certainly to secure a pastor for their souls; another was to render his labors easier and his life less lonely, as well as his work more effective, by having his flock gathered in one settlement.[1] However, the scarcity of priests in the United States, the multitudinous calls for help, and the distance of the western mission made it hard in the extreme for Father Carroll to send them a spiritual shepherd. There can be no doubt that the vicar apostolic's heart went out to them in their privation. They were his charge, for his authority ex-

[1] SPALDING, *Early Catholic Missions,* p. 25; WEBB, *op. cit.,* p. 27.

tended throughout the country, while not a few of them were perhaps connected with him by ties of both blood and friendship. But he could not do that which was impossible.

In this way, two years elapsed before the five and twenty families of the league who emigrated first had the happiness of seeing an ambassador of Christ in their midst. One can more readily imagine than portray the joy that filled their hearts when he arrived, for their lonesomeness was all the more desolate because of the long privation of the succors of religion. This early missionary was Father Charles Whelan who had formerly labored in New York City, where he began the first church in our greatest American metropolis.

Father Whelan reached Kentucky during the year 1787. Unfortunately we have only the meagerest record of his labors there. He was a member of the Order of Saint Francis, pious, zealous, humble, and gentle. He had lived in the refined society of Europe, and seems to have been of too mild a disposition to cope with the difficulties of rough backwoods life, where the people had perhaps become somewhat intractable through long deprivation of the sacraments, no less than through lack of spiritual guidance.

All the while the toilsome missionary was overburdened with his ministry to others, he had no priestly companion with whom he could consult, or to administer the waters of grace to his own soul. Rest he knew none. His incessant travels and his poverty did not even permit him to erect an humble home for himself, or a modest temple of worship for the people. Some of the Catholics treated him rudely, whilst the spirit of intolerance on the part of not a few non-Catholics wor-

ried him. For these reasons, he returned to the east in the spring of 1790, after a little more than two years of labor in the wilds of Kentucky.[2]

Some six months later in the same year, the Rev. William Rohan appeared in the settlements. He had exercised the ministry in Virginia; but it is said that he went into Kentucky with a band of emigrants from North Carolina and eastern Tennessee. Our most voluminous Catholic historical writer, John Gilmary Shea, is greatly in error when he says that this missionary was a Dominican. Like his predecessor, Father Rohan was of Irish parentage. However, he seems to have been educated, if not born, in France. He performed the sacred functions in Kentucky for only a few months. Yet, before the close of 1790, he built the first Catholic church erected in the state. It was located in the Pottinger's Creek Settlement, and was later consecrated to the service of God under the title of Holy Cross.[3]

[2] BADIN, *Origine et Progrès de la Mission du Kentucky*, p. 2; SPALDING, *Early Catholic Missions*, pp. 41 ff, and *Life of Bishop Flaget*, pp. 73-74; WEBB, *op. cit.*, pp. 156-158; SHEA, *Life of Archbishop Carroll, passim;* O'DANIEL, *Life of Bishop Fenwick*, pp. 71-72.

Mr. Webb insinuates at least that Father Whelan was a man of violent temper and rather hard to get along with. However, he had various charges in the east, and the writer has found no accusation made against him in any of these places. On the contrary, he seems to have been a very mild character. He died at Saint Mary's Church on White Clay Creek, New Castle County, Delaware, not far from Wilmington, March 21, 1806. At the time of his death he was pastor of Saint Mary's, whence he attended several missions in Delaware and southeastern Pennsylvania.

In his *Life of Archbishop Carroll* (pp 271-272), Doctor John G. Shea says that Father Paul de St. Pierre, O.C.D., was in Kentucky in 1785, and gives as his reference a letter of the Carmelite to the archbishop. However, it should be noted that there is no tradition of the presence of this priest in the state; nor have we been able to find any such document at Baltimore.

[3] SPALDING, *Early Catholic Missions*, p. 49, and *Life of Flaget*, p. 74;

The next three years were a period of spiritual exile and desolation for the Catholics in the west like unto that of Babylon for the chosen people of old. Meanwhile Father John Carroll had been appointed the first bishop of the United States, and had gone to England and received episcopal consecration from the Right Rev. Charles Walmesley, O.S.B., vicar apostolic of the Western District, August 15, 1790. The new prelate reached Baltimore on his return journey, December 7 of the same year.[4] His heart must have been saddened by the situation of the faithful in Kentucky, and by their appeals for a priest who could give them the bread of eternal life. Still, however much it pained him, it was long before he was able to grant their petition.

God, in His wise counsel, knows well how to draw good out of evil. Thus He turned the afflictions brought upon the Church of Europe by the French Revolution into a source of blessings for that of the United States. Nor was Kentucky, mayhap in answer to the prayers of the good people there, overlooked in the divine dispensation. Among the ecclesiastical refugees who came to Baltimore were the Revs. Michael Bernard Barrière and Stephen Theodore Badin. The former was already in priestly orders; the latter a subdeacon. Ordained on May 25, 1793, Father Badin was not only the first man raised to the priesthood by Arch-

Webb, *op. cit.*, pp. 26, 70, 158-159; Shea, *Life of Carroll*, p. 272; O'Daniel, *Life of Fenwick*, p. 72.

It is certain that Father Rohan labored for a time in Virginia, shortly after he came to America. Spalding (page 29 of his *Early Missions*) tells us that he was in Tennessee for more than a year before going to Kentucky, and that towards the end of his life he went to Saint Thomas' Seminary, near Bardstown, "where he died piously, about the year 1832."

[4] Shea, *op. cit.*, pp. 359, 369; Guilday, *Life of Archbishop Carroll* pp. 373, 383.

bishop Carroll, but even the first upon whom that sacred office was conferred within the present limits of the United States.[5]

These two clergymen were chosen for the desolate western mission. Barrière received the appointment of vicar general. They began their journey on September 6, 1793, and travelled by the easier and safer way of Pittsburgh. At Gallipolis, Ohio, they broke their river voyage in order to visit the remnants of the French still in the ill-fated Scioto Colony, which they found in a deplorable spiritual situation. They left the boat again at Limestone (now Maysville), Kentucky, whence they struck out for Lexington and the Catholic settlement in Scott County. They arrived at Lexington in time for the younger priest to say mass there on the first Sunday of Advent, which fell that year on the first day of December. Father Barrière, for they had but one chalice, then rode sixteen miles in order to perform the same good office for the people in the Catholic settlement of Scott County.[6]

With Father Badin this mass at Lexington marked the beginning of labors in Kentucky that extended over a period of more than a quarter of a century, as well as justly won for him the title of apostle of the state. Barrière soon tired of the hardships and loneliness of the backwoods, or perhaps felt it impossible to learn the English language at his age. He left the missions for New Orleans in the April of 1794.[7] In this way, did

[5] BADIN, *op. cit.*, p. 3

[6] BADIN, *op. cit.*, p. 16; SPALDING, *Early Missions, passim;* WEBB, *op. cit., passim;* O'DANIEL, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-73. For further information on Father Badin the reader is referred to Spalding's *Early Missions,* Webb's *Centenary,* and the author's *Life of Fenwick.*

[7] After leaving Kentucky, Father Barrière was given a mission in an extensive district in southern Louisiana known as Attakapas. There

the youthful Badin, not yet twelve months ordained, and only five and twenty years of age, have the entire burden of the widely scattered Catholic settlements thrown on his shoulders. It must have been a severe shock for him. A man of less spirit would have lost courage, and followed the example of the senior clergyman.

The reader can imagine what exertions so extensive a pastoral charge demanded that the various stations might be even occasionally visited, confessions heard, and the faith kept alive in the hearts of the people. With all this, in addition to sick calls from far and near, the lonely missioner may be said to have practically lived on horseback, then the only way of travel. Fortunately, nature had blessed him with a buoyant spirit that was proof against dejection, an iron constitution that nothing could break, and a nervous energy that seemed never to tire. The wonder is that he effected so much under almost unparalleled handicaps, rather than that he did not accomplish more.

One can hardly but believe that the Catholics of Maryland had some knowledge of the difficulties with which their friends and relations in Kentucky had to contend in the practice of their religion. Yet the stream of immigration did not lessen. From this fact we may conclude that Bishop Carroll must have given solemn assurances to the home-seekers that the dearth of missionaries would soon be remedied. In fact, it

he labored hard and faithfully until in extreme old age. In 1824, he returned to his native Bordeaux, but died eight days after his arrival. Father Charles L. Souvay, C.M., who feels that he left Kentucky because of his despair of learning the English language, has a very nice sketch of his life and work in Louisiana in the *Saint Louis Catholic Historical Review* for October, 1921 (Vol. III, pp. 242-294): "Rummaging through old Parish Records".

was towards the end of this religiously forlorn period that Nicholas Miles took his family to the west. Little Richard, then only five years of age, went with the rest.

On February 26, 1797, Father Badin and his desolate flocks were gladdened by the arrival of the Rev. Michael J. Fournier, an affable and zealous French clergyman.[8] Meantime the veteran missionary had put up a rectory or priest's house near the center of the Catholic settlements, where now stands the mother-house of the Sisters of Loretto. He called it Saint Stephen's. Here he and Father Fournier lived together for a time, although they made an apportionment of the missions.

Badin, who was the vicar general, ordinarily attended the more distant places; but he retained Nelson County, in which the Cox's Creek Settlement was situated, as a part of his charge. Thus he was the pastor of Nicholas Miles and the subject of our narrative. After a twelvemonth's sojourn at Saint Stephen's, Fournier built a residence for himself in the colony on the Rolling Fork, near the present Church of the Holy Name of Mary, Calvary. The division of the work, however, continued practically the same as before.[9]

A little later, to the joy of all the faithful in the state, the clerical force in the missions was increased a hundred fold. The Rev. Anthony Salmon reached Saint Stephen's on January 31, 1799. Father John Thayer

[8] Father Fournier, Kentucky, to Bishop Carroll, Baltimore, March 2, 1797 (Baltimore Archives, Case 8 A, M 1); Badin to same, March 2, 1797 (*ibid*,. Case 1, E 7). Spalding's *Early Missions* (p. 73) tells us that Fournier fled from France to England, and that he taught French in London for about four years before coming to America.

[9] Father Badin to Bishop Carroll, March 4, 1798 (Baltimore Archives, Case 1, E 9); SPALDING, *Early Missions*, pp. 74-75; WEBB, *op. cit., passim.*

arrived a few days later.[10] Salmon and Fournier had been fellow students and brother priests in the Diocese of Blois, France, before the French Revolution. Thayer, a former Presbyterian minister in Massachusetts, was converted and received into the Church in Rome, but studied and was ordained at Paris. Never before had Kentucky been blessed with so many ambassadors of Christ. All finally promised well for the spiritual welfare of the faithful there.

In the new disposition of things Father Thayer took up his residence in Scott County, where a house was erected for him. Father Salmon made his home at Saint Stephen's with the vicar general; whilst Father Fournier remained on the Rolling Fork. This arrangement seems to have left Father Badin freer to give more attention to the smaller and more remote Catholic settlements, isolated families, and whatever else demanded his care.

The field of labor assigned to Father Salmon included Nelson County.[11] In this way he came into contact with Master Richard Miles and his father. It is said that the amiable missionary soon won the hearts of his flock. Tradition also tells us that at times he said mass at the home of Nicholas Miles, that he had no truer admirer than this staunch Catholic gentleman, and that he showed a particular interest in little Richard, whose piety possibly foreshadowed his future life. It is not improbable that the vocation of the future Father of the

[10] Father Salmon, Kentucky, to Bishop Carroll, Baltimore, May 27, 1799 (Baltimore Archives, Case 8 B, G 5); Badin to same, February 20, 1799 (*ibid.*, Case 1, E. 12).

[11] Father Badin to Bishop Carroll, October 9, 1799 (Baltimore Archives, Case 1, E 16), and February 20, 1799, as in the preceding note; SPALDING, *Early Missions*, pp. 74-81; WEBB, *op. cit., passim.*

Church in Tennessee received its first impluse from this friendship.

These fair prospects were short-lived. Death and other causes all too soon thinned the sacerdotal ranks—nay, left the people again with little spiritual succor and guidance. The first to fall a victim to his zeal was Father Salmon. He was thrown from his horse, while on his way to the station at Thomas Gwynn's. He had not recovered from a spell of sickness contracted, says Spalding, from excessive labor and exposure. Perhaps the weak state of his health helped to make fatal the fall, from which he died at Mr. Gwynn's the next day, November 10, 1799. Father Salmon was the first priest to die in Kentucky.[12] The Gwynn home stood not far from that of Bishop Miles, who was then a boy nearly nine years of age. It has been handed down to us that he remembered the sad event well, and that he was wont frequently to speak of it in after life.

Less than four years later, February 12, 1803, Father Fournier also passed to his eternal reward. He, too, was a victim of his zeal. His death, although occasioned by an accident in a saw mill, the state's apostle says, "was chiefly caused by his excessive labours and long rides."[13]

Conversion and ordination failed to take all the old leaven of Puritanism out of Father Thayer. This fact combined with other causes to make his ministrations unacceptable. Accordingly, he exercised the sacred functions in Kentucky for only about two years. Later he returned to the east, going thence to England, and

12 SPALDING, *Early Missions*, 77-78; WEBB, *op. cit.*, pp. 138, 168-169.

13 Father Badin to Bishop Carroll, April 11, 1803 (Baltimore Archives, Case A Special, L 12); SPALDING, *Early Missions*, p. 75; WEBB, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-113.

finally to Ireland, where he is said to have spent the last years of his life in the service of the poor in Limerick.[14]

Thus was the stalwart Badin again left alone for more than two years in the pastoral care of Kentucky. His labors now became greater than they had ever been. The missions had grown in both size and number; the distances he had to travel were lengthened; the sick-calls were multiplied; there were more scattered Catholics remote from the districts occupied by the faithful. The good priest's cares had no end. One can form some idea of his toil when it is recalled that the places he was obliged to visit extended, from east to west, over a distance of some one hundred and thirty or forty miles, and from north to south perhaps seventy miles. Few missionaries could have faced so much in such a solitary situation. From this point of view his life was truly heroic.

Letters in the diocesan archives of Baltimore show that not only did the solitary pastor of Kentucky send urgent appeals to Bishop Carroll for spiritual assistance; the people themselves joined in the supplication. Money was forwarded to defray the expenses of travel for priests from the east to the west.[15] Rumors or promises of aid often raised hopes that were soon disappointed. We can imagine the interest aroused in the bosoms of the backwoodsmen by a proposal to establish

[14] SPALDING, *Early Missions*, pp. 78-81; WEBB, *op. cit.*, pp. 169-174. In his *Life of Archbishop Carroll*, pp. 420-427, Doctor Guilday gives some interesting biographical details of Father Thayer. He labored in many places, and the documents of that day show that he proved successful in none, unless it were in his charity work in Limerick, where he died in 1815. Prudence and judgment were not among his qualifications.

[15] Father Badin's voluminous correspondence in the Baltimore archives shows that he did not spare himself during this trying time, nor from

a community of Franciscans in Scott County under the leadership of Father Michael Egan, afterwards the first bishop of Philadelphia. Surely the good people must have felt that finally God had heard their prayers.[16]

Eventually, late in the summer of 1804, Father Badin received a visit from the Rev. Urban Guillet, superior of a band of Trappists who had been driven from France by the revolution, and were temporarily located at Pigeon Hills, not far from Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. Father Guillet's purpose was to find a suitable home for his brethren in one of the Catholic settlements of Kentucky. The idea greatly pleased the state's veteran missionary. Yet he felt that the presence of a community whose life was wholly contemplative would rather offer him a place of occasional retreat than lighten his labors, or aid in distributing the bread of life to the starving Church of the west.[17]

Almost immediately after his arrival in Kentucky, Father Badin estimated the number of Catholic families

1794 to 1797 when he was also alone. Besides, the same archives have a number of letters from the people appealing for priests. One of these is signed by one hundred and four men of the Cartwright's Creek Settlement. It bears no date, but some one has written "1808" on it. This, however, seems to be a mistake. It must have been written around 1803, and very likely led to the Dominicans settling there. In the last years of the eighteenth century some thirty-five or forty families, among them those of Joseph Fenwick and George Hamilton, his son-in-law, moved from Kentucky to the Spanish possessions in Missouri in order to be able to practise their religion.

[16] Badin to Carroll, December 6, 1804 (Baltimore Archives, Case A Special, L 10); *American Catholic Historical Researches,* IX, 75-76. The documents also show that Father John Dubois, founder of Mount Saint Mary's College, Emmitsburg, Maryland, and later the third bishop of New York, once thought of going to Kentucky.

[17] Badin to Carroll as in the preceding note; and same to same, September 7, 1804 (Baltimore Archives, Case A Special, L 11).

in the state at some three hundred. By the time of which we speak these had increased a hundred fold, for in a letter to Bishop Carroll dated August 31, 1803, he states: "Having made a new census of the different parishes, I find the number of Catholics amounts to upwards of seven hundred families."[18] Doubtless, however, the wide territory over which the faithful were scattered, the many matters that demanded the time and attention of the lone priest, and other difficulties of the day rendered it impossible to make a complete census.

Indeed, it is quite probable that the Catholic households were considerably in excess of Father Badin's estimate. Very likely the number in 1803 was nearer that which he gives in another statement more than three years later. In a letter of March 14, 1807, he tells his ordinary that he has counted nine hundred and seventy-two families.[19] For nearly two decades those of the faith had flocked into Kentucky in ever increasing volume, not merely from Maryland, but also from other parts of the country, and even from Ireland.

Together with this letter of March 14, 1807, Father Badin sent Doctor Carroll a list of nineteen parishes or stations with churches or prospects of having them in the near future. Apart from their interest as a matter of history, these places and their respective distances from Father Badin's residence will give the reader a better idea of the forces that led the Dominicans to Kentucky, and serve as a further background for our narrative.

1. Saint Stephen's, then in Washington, but now

[18] Baltimore Archives, Case A Special, L 1.
[19] *Ibid.*, Case 1, I 3.

in Marion County. Mass was said in Father Badin's house for the faithful.

2. Holy Cross, in the Pottinger's Creek Settlement, then also in Washington County, but now in Marion. It was five or six miles west of Saint Stephen's.[20]

3. Saint Francis', in Scott County, built in 1796 or 1797, and seventy-two miles northeast.[21]

4. Saint Ann's, in the Cartwright's Creek Settlement, Washington County, built in 1797 or 1798—about seven miles east.

5. Saint Joseph's, near Bardstown, Nelson County, which was built in 1797 and 1798—thirteen miles north.

6. Holy Mary's, in the Rolling Fork Settlement, in Washington County, but now in Marion and about five miles from the present Lebanon—thirteen miles southeast. The church there was under way.

7. Saint Thomas', in "Poplar Neck", on the Beech Fork, Nelson County, eleven miles north.

8. Saint Charles', Washington County (now in Marion County), eight miles southeast. This church was built in 1806.

9. Saint Michael's, in the Cox's Creek Settlement (now Fairfield), Nelson County, twenty-four miles to

[20] Washington County was cut out of Nelson County in 1792, the same year that Kentucky received the honor of statehood. Marion County was formed, in 1834, by a division of Washington County.

[21] In no other early Catholic settlement of Kentucky has religion fared so badly as in that of Scott County. From the beginning the parish gave its pastors trouble. It was the most favorably situated of them all from a worldly point of view, for the land was very fertile. Perhaps the people gave too much attention to their temporal welfare, making a god of mammon at the expense of their souls. It seems unfortunate that a number of the best families of the colony, including several Fenwicks who were leaders in church affairs, removed to Missouri. The parish has dwindled down to seven or eight families, of whom only about three can claim any connection with the original Catholic settlers.

the north. It seems that a log temple of prayer had been begun there, if it were not even in actual use. The reader will remember that this was the parish to which Nicholas Miles belonged.[22]

10. Saint Clare's, near the present Colesburg, in Hardin County—twenty-four miles to the northwest.

11. Saint Benedict's, Shelby County, thirty-five or forty miles north.[23]

12. Saint Anthony's, "near the forks of Rough Creek", Breckinridge County—eighty miles to the west. It is now the parish known as Axtel.

13. Saint Christopher's, "near the Kentucky River", Madison County—eighty miles east by north.

14. Saint Louis', in the present City of Louisville, which was more than fifty miles north.

15. Saint Peter's, in Lexington, seventy miles to the northeast.

16. Saint Bernard's, Adair County, thirty-four miles southeast. The church for this congregation was subsequently built in Casey County, where now stands the village of Clementsville.

17. Saint Patrick's, Danville, Mercer County (now Boyle County)—thirty miles east.

[22] For one reason or another, there was considerable trouble about building the little log church at this place, which caused it to be a long-drawn-out affair.

[23] Father Badin's list and a letter from him to Bishop Carroll, sent from "St. Benedict's, Shelby County, May 12, 1808" (Baltimore Archives, Case 1, I 7), show that this station was then in Shelby County. A communication to the *United States Catholic Miscellany* of December 16, 1826, tells us that it was in the part of Shelby County taken (in 1824) to help in forming that of Spencer. The distance of Saint Benedict's from Saint Stephen's is given in Bishop Maes' *Life of Father Charles Nerinckx* (p. 126) as thirty-three miles. But a letter of Father Badin to Bishop Carroll, October 5, 1805 (Baltimore Archives, Case 1, G 10) says it was about forty miles from his home.

18. Saint John's, Bullitt County, twenty-five or thirty miles northwest of Saint Stephen's. The church there was in course of erection.[24]

19. Springfield, Washington County, nine or ten miles to the east.[25]

One would have expected to see Harrodsburg mentioned in the above list. The nucleus of a Catholic colony gathered in that neighborhood, thirty-five or forty miles northeast of Father Badin's home, at an early date. Although it never became numerous, still it would seem to have deserved notice. Possibly its omission was an oversight.

The spiritual desolation of the faithful in that distant part of his diocese and Father Badin's endless labors gave Bishop Carroll great anxiety. He had experienced no little difficulty in finding priests ready to settle in the remote mission, or capable of sustaining its hardships and privations. It was but natural, therefore, that he should turn his thoughts to the Dominicans from the English province, when Father Edward Dom-

[24] Maes (*op. cit.*, p. 127) makes Father Nerinckx say that place was only fifteen miles from Saint Stephen's. But this is evidently a typographical or other error.

[25] The church afterwards built by the Dominicans in Springfield was called Saint Dominic's. Saint Rose's, which was under way at the time Father Badin sent his list to Bishop Carroll (and about half way between that incipient town and Saint Ann's—two miles from each), long delayed the necessity of a church in Springfield. The pretermission of Saint Rose's in the list is a surprise.

This schedule of churches and stations by Father Badin is in the Baltimore Archives, Case C. Special, L. Maes' *Life of Nerinckx*, pp. 126-127, with a few exceptions, was used for the distances of the various missions from Saint Stephen's, as these are not given in Badin's list. In addition to his list, Father Badin sent the Bishop a map of Kentucky drawn by himself, with the location of the churches, etc., indicated by the letters of the alphabet, and an accompanying explanation of their prospects. This document is also in Case C Special, L, of the Baltimore Archives. Saint Rose's is given in this chart.

inic Fenwick proposed to make a foundation within his jurisdiction. Before Fenwick made his request, the bishop himself had urged Father William B. Short, the English provincial, "to embrace a fine opportunity which offered of obtaining a most advantageous settlement in the United States." This was in 1802, if not earlier.[26] Quite probably Baltimore's prelate wished then to have them locate in Kentucky; for we know of no other place so sadly in need of priests at the time, nor one that seemed to proffer better opportunities for a body of religious men.

Father Fenwick, who began the negotiations that happily resulted in the establishment of the Friars Preacher in the United States, was born in Saint Mary's County, Maryland, in 1768. When a mere youth, he had been sent to Holy Cross College, conducted by the English Dominicans at Bornheim, Belgium. While there he learned to love the Order, and realized the good that it might effect for the Church in his native land. For this reason, he joined the Province of England with the express purpose of one day starting the institute of Saint Dominic in our youthful republic.[27]

He received the Dominican habit at Bornheim on

[26] Bishop Carroll, Baltimore, to Rev. Richard Luke Concanen, O.P., Rome, November 21, 1806 (Archives of the Dominican Master General, Codex XIII, 731); O'Daniel, *Life of Bishop Fenwick*, pp. 114-115. Bishop Carroll states in his letter: "So long ago as 1802, I had urged Mr. Short, then the Provincial of it [the Order] in England, to embrace a fine opportunity which offered of obtaining a most advantageous settlement in the United States." As Father Short's term of office as provincial ended in 1798, it would seem that the bishop had written to him at an earlier date, but had forgotten the precise time. Father Short died in 1800.

[27] This fact has always been a tradition in Saint Joseph's Province of Friars Preacher. Researches of late years have shown it to be stated in more than one document belonging even to Fenwick's lifetime.

September 4, 1788, and was raised to the priesthood early in 1793.[28] In June, 1794, the community was obliged by the French revolutionists to seek refuge in England, where he spent the next ten years of his life. Although the college at Bornheim was re-opened on the restoration of peace, the uncertain and unhappy political horizon of Continental Europe, together with the secularization by Pius VII of all religious in the countries under French domination, not only prevented the educational institution from prospering again, but even rendered impossible the practice of the Order's characteristic life. On the other hand, the strong anti-Catholic prejudices of Engand, which bore with special force against religious institutes, also gave a gloomy outlook for the future of the Friars Preacher in that country.

These circumstances convinced the young American that the time had come for him to undertake the purpose for which he had entered the Order. They moreover induced three of his companions to offer their services in the pious enterprise—the Revs. Samuel Thomas Wilson, William Raymond Tuite, and Robert Antoninus Angier. Just when Fenwick first broached the subject to Bishop Carroll can not now be ascertained; but it is certain that the proposal was warmly espoused by the father of the American hierarchy. It received a similar approval from the Dominican Master General, the Most Rev. Pius J. Gaddi, to whom the project was made known by his assistant, Father Richard Luke Concanen, later the first bishop of New York.[29]

[28] Book of Receptions and Professions (Archives of the English Province); records of the Cathedral of Saint-Bavon, Ghent, Belgium.

[29] The facts recorded in this and the preceding paragraph are shown by the correspondence given in chapters III, V, VI, VII, and VIII of the *Life of Bishop Fenwick,* and by the last part of the history of Holy

The first two letters that passed between Fenwick and Concanen on the matter are no longer extant; but those that still remain show that the correspondence began as early as 1802.[30] Another, addressed to Carroll and dated January 12, 1804, indicates that the bishop had been notified of the design prior to this latter date.[31] In the beginning, Father Thomas A. Underhill, then provincial in England, gave his ready consent that Fenwick might return to his native land. However, when others began to enlist in the American enterprise, Underhill opposed the whole plan. Nor were his objections without reason, for his province could not well afford to lose so many of its best men. The question was then referred to the General. He decided in favor of the New World.[32]

Cross College, Bornheim, Belgium, in Father Raymund Palmer's *Life of Philip Thomas Howard, O.P., Cardinal of Norfolk.* Writing from Georgetown, District of Columbia, to Father Richard L. Concanen, Rome, October 14, 1805, Father Wilson says: "Ever since the notice I received from our Archbishop, Monsignor Roquelaure, that all religious in France, being now secularized by His Holiness, were entirely under his jurisdiction, I have turned my thoughts to America, where a new prospect opens of laboring with success" (Archives of the Dominican General, Codex XIII, 731). Father Concanen, a friend of Bishop Carroll, and for a time his agent at Rome, took a keen and helpful interest in the establishment of the Friars Preacher in the United States. Since writing a sketch of Concanen, some years ago (*Catholic Historical Review,* January and April, 1916), we have discovered the date of his birth. He was born in the Diocese of Elphin, December 28, 1847 (*Diario di Roma,* May 11, 1808).

30 A letter from Fenwick, Carshalton, England, to Concanen, Rome, March 15, 1803, shows that two previous letters had passed between them on the subject (Archives of the Dominican General, Codex XIII, 731).

31 Baltimore Archives, Case 3, R 1.

32 There were two Fathers Underhill in England, Thomas A., who was provincial at this time, and Gerard A., an elder brother. They frequently went under the alias of Plunkett. Fenwick began his communications with Rome through Father Gerard. The relations between Fenwick and the English provincial through all the controversy are truly

Fathers Fenwick and Angier reached Maryland late in November, 1804. There they were joined by Wilson and Tuite nearly a year later. Before the arrival of any of these clerical forces, Bishop Carroll had acquainted Father Badin with their desire, and signified his intention of sending them to Kentucky. It was welcome news to the lonely missionary.[33] Fenwick was a native of Maryland, the state from which by far the greater number of Catholics in Kentucky, or their parents, had come. Doubtless, therefore, Doctor Carroll felt that the American Friar Preacher and his English associates would understand the people better than priests with a foreign tongue, as well as be better understood by them. One of the aims of the Dominicans was to establish a college for the education of youth, and the Church in the west had no Catholic schools for its children. This gave an additional reason for placing them in that part of the vast Diocese of Baltimore.

Fenwick had confidently expected to set up the standard of Saint Dominic on land inherited from his father in Maryland. However, he bowed to the solicitation of Bishop Carroll that he should visit Kentucky in the spring of 1805, in order to see if he could not find a suitable location there for himself and confrères. Satisfied with the prospects offered by the new west, he returned to await Fathers Wilson and Tuite. He did

edifying. See *Life of Bishop Fenwick,* pp. 62-63 and *passim.*

33 Fenwick, Saint George's, Maryland, to Carroll, Baltimore, November 29, 1804 (Baltimore Archives, Case 3, R 3); Wilson, Georgetown, District of Columbia, to Concanen, Rome, October 14, 1805 (Archives of the Dominican General, Codex XIII, 731); Badin to Carroll, December 6, 1804 (Baltimore Archives, Case A Special, L 10), and February 26, 1805 (*ibid.,* Case A Special, L. 9). For later relations between Father Badin and the Dominicans in Kentucky see *Life of Bishop Fenwick,* Chapter VIII, p. 127 ff, and *Catholic Historical Review,* April 1920 (VI, 15 ff, and 66 ff).

not wish to come to a definite decision without the consent of his co-laborers.[34]

Whilst the leader of the little band of Friars Preacher was on this journey, Father Charles Nerinckx, of missionary fame, started from Georgetown College for the same sphere of activity. He left at this particular juncture in order to accompany the Trappists of Pigeon Hills, who, under Father Guillet, were about to depart for Kentucky. However, the field was large, and gave promise of a good harvest; the labors many. Besides, the Trappist's vocation largely witholds him from the ministry. For these reasons, a few weeks after their arrival at Baltimore (September 10, 1805), Fathers Wilson and Tuite were dispatched on to Kentucky. Because of the upsetting of their wagon on the western slopes of the Alleghany Mountains, from which both received wounds that retarded their progress, they did not reach their destination until late in December. Father Angier, at the request of Bishop Carroll, was left to labor temporarily on the missions of Maryland. Business connected with the settlement of his paternal estate detained Fenwick.[35]

While waiting the arrival of the superior in Kentucky, Tuite resided at the house of Thomas Gwynn,

[34] Fenwick to Concanen (Rome) from Carshalton, England, March 15, 1803, and Piscataway, Maryland, August 1, 1805 (Archives of the Dominican General, Codex XIII, 731; Carroll to same, November 21, 1806 (*ibid.*); Fenwick to Carroll, Saint George's, Maryland, November 29, and Washington, December 15, 1804 (Baltimore Archives, Case 3, R 3 and 4).

[35] *Life of Fenwick, passim.* Not many years ago one used frequently to hear the old fathers tell how Father Wilson had an arm broken and Father Tuite received an ugly cut on his forehead when the horses ran away and overturned the wagon as they were descending the mountains. Bishop Miles, Father Nicholas D. Young, and Father Samuel L. Montgomery were given as the authorities for the statement. The tradition

where Father Salmon had died. Thence he attended the faithful in Nelson County. In this way, he became the temporary pastor of Nicholas Miles, whose residence, it will be recalled, stood in the vicinity of the Gwynn station, and whose youngest son was destined to become one of the glories of the Friars Preacher in the United States.

The great Wilson stopped at the home of one Henry Boone, an exemplary Catholic who lived in the neighborhood of Saint Ann's. From there he looked after the Cartwright's Creek Settlement, which had become perhaps the largest parish in the state. Almost simultaneously he gathered around him a few boys who manifested a desire for the priesthood. These he lodged with Boone and others, and began to teach them in one of his benefactor's cabins.[36]

This little makeshift of a school was the beginning of the first Catholic college west of the Alleghanies. Among its pupils were Robert and Nicholas Young, nephews of Father Fenwick, who went to Kentucky, probably with their preceptor, with the intention of joining the Order. Another was the subject of our narrative, Richard Miles. It has been handed down to us that he approached "good Father Tuite", when that faithful priest took charge of the missions in Nelson

still lives in the province and in Washington County, Kentucky. It is said that Wilson never fully recovered the use of his arm and that Tuite carried an ugly scar to the grave. Shea speaks of this mishap in his *History of the Church in the United States,* III, 274.

36 Letters of Fathers Badin and Nerinckx substantiate the tradition of the province about Fathers Wilson and Tuite making their homes for a time with Messrs. Gwynn and Boone. Father Stephen Byrne speaks of it in his manuscript sketch of the province, as also does Shea (See preceding note). The tradition about both this and the school is still strong in the province and in the vicinity of Saint Rose's.

County, made known his wish to consecrate himself to God, and was sent at once to study under Father Wilson.[37]

Master Miles was near the close of his fifteenth year, or had just entered on the threshold of his sixteenth, when he came under the influence of the masterful mind of the Rev. Samuel T. Wilson, whom Bishop Spalding designates "one of the most learned divines who ever emigrated to America."[38] Only a short time before, because of the lack of educational institutions in Kentucky, the youthful backwoodsman could hardly have aspired to so sublime a state. Doubtless, therefore, his unsullied heart thrilled with joy and gratitude because of the opportunity of realizing a vocation that possessed his soul. Nor can we doubt that his parents gave him their blessing and sincerest encouragement when he left the parental roof, for they were pious people who could but see the hand of God in the favor shown their youngest child.

Father Fenwick wound up his business in Maryland in June, 1805. Before the close of the next month, we find him again in Kentucky. Eager to set his pious enterprise on foot, he almost immediately purchased a large plantation from one John Waller, who is said to have been anxious to leave a locality in which so many Catholics had settled. The farm lay on Cartwright's Creek, in Washington County, about half way between Springfield and Saint Ann's Church—some

[37] In times past the writer often listened to the older priests recounting how Father Nicholas Young and even Bishop Miles himself used to tell about the days they spent under Father Wilson at this school. There is no stronger or more reliable tradition in the province than that concerning the facts recorded in this paragraph.

[38] *Early Missions*, p. 154.

two miles from each—, and about eight miles east of Father Badin's residence.[39]

There stood on the Waller land a two-storied brick house. This was hurriedly remodeled. Fathers Wilson and Tuite, together with the students of the former, were then called to their new home, which was blessed and opened in December, 1806.[40] It was dedicated to Saint Rose of Lima, America's first flower of sanctity. Thus this modest little domicile, one of the earliest brick buildings erected in Kentucky, became not only the first Dominican priory, but even the first convent for men in the United States, with the possible exception of the temporary establishment of Trappists, which was transplanted from Pennsylvania to Kentucky, and thence to Missouri and other places until they returned to Europe. Today, therefore, save alone the Franciscan monastery at Santa Barbara, California, which was founded under Spanish domination, Saint Rose's is the oldest convent of men in the country. Well may it be proud of such a distinction.[41]

[39] In the Recorder's Office, La Plata, Charles County, Maryland, are two deeds of Fenwick to Joseph Gardiner bearing the date of June 5, 1806. Father Badin, writing to Bishop Carroll, September 17, 1806, says that Fenwick purchased the Waller plantation within three days after his return to Kentucky (Baltimore Archives, Case A Special, L 15). Perhaps one of the reasons for his haste was Father Badin's unconquerable proclivity to interfere in every sort of affair.

[40] Fenwick, Springfield, Kentucky, to Carroll Baltimore, March 1, 1807 (Baltimore Archives, Case 3, R 8). Waller's deed of his farm to Fenwick is dated December 1, 1806; but it would seem that the renovation of the Waller house was completed by this time.

[41] The Trappists came over from France in 1803 or 1804, and settled at Pigeon Hills, Pennsylvania. In 1805 they moved to Kentucky, locating at the foot of Rohan's Knob, near Holy Cross Church; but in the spring of 1807 they removed to Casey County. Thence, in 1809, they went farther west, stopping for a while near Cairo, Illinois, and finally settling at Florissant, Missouri. In 1810, they moved to Cahokia, Illinois.

It was in this mother-priory of his native land that Richard Miles got his first real insight into the life of a Friar Preacher. From the start, tradition tells us, he showed fine judgment, no mean talent, a spirit of tireless industry, and a fund of sensible piety. Father Tuite now became one of his teachers, with the result that a life-long friendship soon sprang up between the two men. Fenwick's time, because superior, was mostly taken up with the ministry and the new buildings that he almost immediately got under way. However, the stay of the future apostle of Tennessee in the "Waller mansion", as the people called it, was of short duration; but to tell of this change will be the burden of the next chapter.

Eventually, in 1813, they left this place for the east, and after a short sojourn in New York City returned to France. It is admitted by all that they were a community of exemplary men, but they had the misfortune of being under an unpractical and capricious superior. The liberty with which they went from place to place indicates that none of their establishments had the canonical status of a convent.

Saint Mary's College (now a Seminary) under the Sulpicians in Baltimore, Georgetown College and other houses of the Jesuit Fathers in the east, although communities, were not convents in the strict sense of the word. Father Matthew Carr, O.S.A., had built the Church of Saint Augustine and a rectory for his order in Philadelphia several years prior to the opening of Saint Rose's, in Kentucky; but the Augustinian house does not seem to have become a convent until at a later date.

CHAPTER IV

DONS THE HABIT OF SAINT DOMINIC

Father Edward D. Fenwick's original idea was to establish a house in Maryland that should be really an extension of the English Friars Preacher. He hoped, no doubt, that, with God's favor, this place would in time become the mother of other similar institutions, and that eventually the way would be prepared for an independent province of his Order in his native country. But the Master General, the Most Rev. Pius Joseph Gaddi, determined to take the proposed American convent under his own immediate jurisdiction. He so notified Fenwick through Father Concanen. The reason for this decision was the well-known jealousy against British influence that existed in the United States at the time.[1]

On second thought, however, Father Gaddi resolved to found a separate and distinct province from the outset, with Father Fenwick as its superior.[2] Behind the change of mind on the part of the Master General lay several factors. One was the slow and uncertain mail service, together with the distance from the seat of Christendom; another the dangers that encompassed the Holy See, and threatened a break of communications between Rome and the New World. Furthermore,

1 Concanen, Rome, to Fenwick, Carshalton, England, November 19, 1803 (Archives of the English Province).

2 Concanen to Pius VII, November (?), 1804 (Copy in Archives of the Dominican General, Codex XIII, 731).

Father Gaddi doubtless wished to see the religious institute over which he presided take its place among the laborers for the glory of God, the spread of the Church, and the salvation of souls in our new and promising republic, as it had done so nobly in Latin America. Under the existing circumstances, the surest way to this end was to place Fenwick's enterprise on an autonomous basis from the start.

Indeed, the General's zeal in the matter was such that it led to an incident that has few, if any, parallels in the long history of the Order of Friars Preacher, since the early years of its existence. The law is most positive in its exaction that there must be at least three convents before a province can be established. In this instance, by virtue of apostolic authority of course, the erection of one was decreed even before it had a single house. Archbishop Carroll, by another extraordinary procedure, was empowered to found it and to determine where it should set up its standard.[3]

The documents to this effect arrived in Maryland early in October, 1805.[4] Behind them one can clearly discern the kindly guiding hand of Father Richard L. Concanen, who espoused Fenwick's cause from the beginning. For years the Irish assistant of the Dominican Master General had unselfishly given much of his time and thought to the aid of the Church in missionary countries; but he seems to have had an especial love for that of the United States. The claims of the Catholics

[3] Father Gaddi might have awaited Bishop Carroll's answer, and then, having obtained the *beneplacitum apostolicum,* erected what is known as a congregation. But he felt that, under the circumstances, the best thing to do was to proceed as recorded in the text.

[4] Fenwick, Zacchia, Maryland, to Carroll, October 10, 1805 (Baltimore Archives, Case 3, R 5).

here appealed so strongly to his heart that only age prevented him from offering his services in their behalf. Through study, no less than through correspondence with Archbishop Carroll, whose friend and agent he was, he had become conversant with our needs, as well as knew the venerable patriarch's longing desire for more zealous ambassadors of Christ. From Fenwick he had learned that prelate's wish to have the Friars Preacher come to his assistance.[5]

Few clergymen in Rome were better known at the Propaganda than Doctor Concanen, or so completely possessed the confidence of its cardinals; for he had long been the medium used by many bishops under its jurisdiction in their dealings with that sacred congregation. For the same reason, he stood high in the esteem of the Sixth and the Seventh Pius. At the present time the latter Pontiff was still in Paris, whither he had gone to crown Napoleon Bonaparte emperor of France. Thence rumors floated back that combined with the uncertain state of Europe to render dangerous any further delay in stabilizing Fenwick's project.

Armed, therefore, with the approbation of Father Gaddi, and encouraged by his knowledge of the Propaganda's anxiety to do all in its power for the Church in the young American republic, no less than by the well-known friendship between himself and Doctor Carroll, Concanen placed his request before that august

[5] There are a number of letters of Concanen to Carroll in the Baltimore Archives. Others from Carroll to Concanen exist in the Propaganda Archives and those of the Dominican Master General, Rome. It was the friendship between the two illustrious ecclesiastics that led to Concanen's appointment as the first bishop of New York. See, on this subject, the *Catholic Historical Review* for January, 1916, (I, 400-421). and April, 1916 (II, 19-46, and 73-82).

body of the Roman curia. His trust did not prove ungrounded. The answer of the sacred congregation was in the form of a decree that authorized the bishop of Baltimore, as delegate apostolic, to create the proposed province of Friars Preacher in his vast diocese, if it met with his approbation.

Father Gaddi himself entertained so firm a confidence in favorable action in the matter on the part of Bishop Carroll that, apparently along with the document from the Propaganda, he had Concanen forward letters patent of the Order's head appointing Fenwick superior of the future province, and naming it after his own patron, Saint Joseph. True to the General's expectation, Doctor Carroll not only accepted the power conferred upon him, but even lost no time about putting it into execution. Moreover, he seems to have allowed Fenwick full liberty in the choice of a location for his purpose in Kentucky.[6]

[6] Decree of March 11, 1805. The date of this decree shows that it was enacted while Pius VII was in France; but it was held in abeyance until his return to Rome. He signed it on May 19, 1805. Cardinal Michael di Pietro and Archbishop Dominic Coppola, respectively the prefect and secretary of the Propaganda, affixed their signatures to the document on June 1, 1805. It seems certainly to have been forwarded to Baltimore at the same time that Father Gaddi's letters, dated June 22, 1805, were sent to Fenwick.

Concanen had addressed a letter (in the name of Fenwick) to Pius VII late in November or early in December, 1804. The document is not dated; but on December 22, 1804, following its custom in such affairs, the prefect of the Propaganda wrote to Carroll in order to ascertain his will in the matter. Now, owing to the slow and doubtful mail service and the danger of further delay, the sacred congregation resorted to the decree mentioned in the text as the surest way of setting the business on its feet. Copies of all the documents relating to the affair (in Concanen's own handwriting) are in the Archives of the Dominican Master General. See also the *Catholic Historical Review* as in the preceding note, and *Life of Bishop Fenwick*, chapters III and V. It is worthy of record that the Dominican Master General, out of gratitude

It was with this authority that Father Fenwick purchased the Waller farm, renovated the little brick house that stood on it, and established the Convent of Saint Rose. Although, because of its remoteness from any large center of population, one would hardly pick out the same site today for a priory or college, it would have been difficult nearly a century and a quarter ago to select in Kentucky a localty that gave greater promise for the realization of the Friar Preacher's design. The future development of the country could not be even surmised, for the state was almost entirely given to agriculture. It had no cities, nor any towns whose prospects were assured, or where Catholicity had gained a firm footing. The plantation that he purchased lay almost in the center of the Catholic settlements, while it was in the very heart of one of the largest and most prosperous of them.

Moreover, the Waller land was good; the country round about it rolling, beautiful, picturesque; the climate mild, equable, and healthy. Through the farm secured for the community flowed Cartwright's Creek, which, though now of little service, then furnished an abundance of water-power for running, the greater part of the year, a grist and a saw mill that stood near the house. These equipments, indeed, were almost indispensable aids for such an institution in the backwoods of that period.[7] While not trained in generosity, nor, as a rule, blessed with an abundance of the goods

for Bishop Carroll's friendliness in the matter, placed the noted Baltimore prelate in the list of the Order's benefactor's, and made him a participant in its prayers and good works *in perpetuum.*

[7] Fenwick's letters show that he set much store on these mills, while tradition tells us that they long stood the community in good stead. It is not more than twenty-five years since the old-time waterpower flour mill was torn down, after proving a blessing to the community and neighborhood for nearly a century. Lack of water was the reason for its discontinuance.

of this world, the people were chivalrous and hospitable. They could not be coerced, but they were singularly tractable under wise and kindly leadership. Firm in the faith, as well as true to its practices, it would have been hard to discover a better Catholic body. The same remains true to this day.[8]

The diminutive convent proved too small from the start. Father Fenwick therefore began work at once on a larger and more substantial building of brick, three stories in height and some seventy-five feet in length by about thirty in width, that would serve not only as a priory and novitiate for the community, but also as a preparatory college for candidates of the Order. The site chosen for the new structure lay some four hundred yards west of the former Waller home. Possibly it was selected not less because of its beauty than because it was farther removed from the miasma and dampness which sometimes arose from the creek that ran hard by the first convent.

Fenwick himself blessed and opened the new abode on March 19, 1807. It was a joyful occasion on which people of every creed gathered from near and far to witness the ceremonies.[9] Whilst plain in outline, the second Saint Rose's, when completed, was one of the largest and most imposing edifices in the State of Kentucky. Fortunately it still stands on the crest of a little hill, a happy reminder of a past that is rich in traditions as well as full of inspiration.[10]

[8] These statements are borne out by every reliable authority.

[9] Fenwick, Lexington, Kentucky, to Concanen, Rome, July 10, 1808 (Archives of the Dominican General, Codex XIII, 731).

[10] The building has been recently renovated, and strengthened by a broad, substantial porch of re-enforced cement, and the walls covered with an incasement of the same material.

Perhaps not even the founder of the province and his confrères experienced greater joy at the opening of the new convent than did Tennessee's future bishop. He must have regarded it as an augury of the realization of his heart's holiest aspiration. At any rate, there he now took up his abode, and it remained his home for one and twenty years.

No drones were tolerated in the youthful institution. Yet Richard Miles was not one whom the better and more commodious quarters would entice to waste his time. He needed not the spur of Father Wilson, for he had been brought up to a life of industry, while his thirst for an education and the hope of soon receiving the habit of Saint Dominic gave added zest to his studies. Tradition informs us that God blessed him with a ready, retentive memory as well as a good mind—an indispensable requisite for rapid progress. There can be no doubt that he was one of the six youths who, Father Fenwick writes to Father Concanen, July 10, 1808, "have made much progress in Latin, . . . are verbally received, and will be solemnly admitted to the habit and novitiate on St. Rose's day, in August next." [11]

However, the leader of the enterprise seems to have counted too fast. Perhaps his wish to see this event, the first of its kind in the province he had just established, take place on the feast of the proto-convent's patroness was father to the thought. Perhaps also it had been actually decided that the six postulants should be clothed with the habit on that day, but it was afterwards found to be more convenient or better that the reception should be deferred until a later date.

[11] See note 9 above.

Be that as it may, a change of authority over our youthful aspirant to the religious life and the priesthood should be noted here. From the beginning of his correspondence with Rome, Fenwick had strongly urged that his former professor, the Rev. Samuel T. Wilson, should be placed in charge of the American project. Although it was his conception, and the province was to be in his own country, Fenwick's humility was such that it convinced him that he had not the ability successfully to carry out the plan. On the other hand, he had unlimited confidence in Wilson. With him at the head of affairs, he was sure all would go well; without him, he feared lest the attempt to found the proposed new province should prove a dismal failure.

Because of these repeated solicitations, Father Fenwick was not appointed provincial, but simply superior, in the Master General's first official letters.[12] Yet the spirit of self-abnegation shown by the American Friar Preacher won the heart of the highest authority in his Order. Indeed, so tradition at least tells us, such was Father Gaddi's confidence in his humble confrère that, when he finally decided to appoint a provincial, he sent two letters patent to Fenwick, one nominating him to the office, and the other conferring it upon Wilson. A personal letter that accompanied these two documents authorized him to choose for himself which one should be put into execution.

Without hesitation, so the story runs, the meek son of Saint Dominic tore up the letters of his own appointment, and handed to Father Wilson those that made

[12] Letters patent of Fenwick's appointment, June 22, 1805 (Archives of Saint Rose's Priory). In practically every letter of Fenwick to Concanen Wilson's name came up as the man who should be appointed superior.

THE RIGHT REV. EDWARD D. FENWICK, O. P.

FOUNDER OF THE PRIARS PREACHER IN THE UNITED STATES.
AND THE FIRST BISHOP OF CINCINNATI

him the head of the province. These documents bore the date of February 27, 1807, but they did not reach Kentucky until Ocotober of the same year. The next day that for Wilson was read before the little community, and Fenwick gladly took his place in the ranks of his brethren, whilst his friend assumed the reins of authority.[13]

Thus Father Wilson became the first provincial of religious men in the United States.[14] Strange to say, and of course because of the incipient state of the enterprise, the same document made him also prior of the house. He was now Richard Miles' superior in a

[13] Letters patent of Father Wilson's appointment (Archives of Saint Rose's Priory). The only extant letter of Fenwick to Concanen after Wilson's appointment as provincial is that of July 10, 1808 (referred to in note 9 of this chapter). It gives the time of the arrival of Wilson's document, and tells us that it was read before the community the day after its reception; but it does not even allude to any appointment of himself to the office of provincial. However, this proves nothing, for such an omission was only in keeping with Fenwick's spirit of humility.

The tradition of the province on the matter is so definite, lively, and persistent that it demands a place in the history of the Friars Preacher in the United States. Nay, it is of such a character that it brings conviction to one conversant with those early days. This tradition found expression in the sketch of Bishop Fenwick in the *Catholic Telegraph* (a paper founded by him), January 12, 1833, a few months after his death.

[14] The Jesuit Fathers in the colonies, prior to the unfortunate suppression of the Society, August 16, 1773, belonged to the English province, and were under a superior appointed from that country. From the time of the revival of the Society in the United States (1805), by virtue of a *vivae vocis oraculum,* and the affiliation of its members here with the Russian Province, the fathers were governed by a superior appointed from Russia. On August 7, 1814, the Society of Jesus was restored the world over. But the Jesuit mission of Maryland was not formally erected into a province until 1833, when Father William McSherry was appointed its first provincial.

As early as 1797 a province of the Augustinians was established at Philadelphia, and Father Matthew Carr was appointed vicar provincial. But it does not appear to have had a formal convent or a provincial until after the date of Father Wilson's appointment in Kentucky.

double sense. Father W. R. Tuite became master of the postulants; while Father Robert A. Angier, who came from Maryland about the same time that the Master General's letters arrived (possibly he took them with him from Baltimore), temporarily increased the staff of professors. Although the times were hard, Fenwick could with truth tell his friend, Father Concanen, that the "young province" had so far succeeded "beyond all expectation", and that every one was pleased and happy.[15]

Perhaps none were happier than the subject of our narrative. Unfortunately, as Father Wilson was little given to writing letters, and the first superior, now that he no longer had charge of affairs, seldom engaged in such pastime, we have few documents that throw light on the early religious life of the future bishop. With truth does Bishop Spalding say: "The Dominicans in Kentucky did much and wrote little."[16] However, what with tradition and what with the scanty data that still remain, we can follow the young man's course with a fair degree of certitude.

The days ran smoothly along for him, though anxious in expectation of receiving the habit. Unfortun-

[15] Letter of July 10, 1808, as in note 9 of this chapter. Father Angier, who had been left in Maryland at Carroll's request, reached Kentucky about October, 1807. By the close of 1808, or early in 1809, owing to another request of the bishop, he became resident pastor in Scott County, whence he attended other missions in the north and east. Father John C. Fenwick, S.T.Lr., an uncle of Father Edward D. Fenwick, had intended to join his brethren in Kentucky; but Bishop Carroll urged so strongly that he should remain in Maryland, where he had labored on the missions since about 1800, that he was left to continue his toil there. He died at Saint Thomas' Manor, Charles County, Maryland, August 20, 1815. See Life of *Bishop Fenwick, passim,* for both of these clergymen.

[16] SPALDING, *Early Missions,* p. 149.

ately, for the reasons given, the date of this important event in his life can not now be determined with precision. In July, 1808, Fenwick wrote to Concanen that the thirtieth of the next month, the feast of Saint Rose, had been set for the clothing of six postulants. Others have stated that Bishop Miles was given the habit on October 10, 1808. Yet, in default of documents definitely settling the question, the date of his religious profession inclines us strongly to the belief that the ceremony was deferred, and that it did not take place until 1809—most likely late in April or early in May. Whatever the time it occurred, those who then donned the white frock and black mantle of the Friar Preacher were Richard Miles, Robert Young, William Willett, Stephen Montgomery, Samuel Montgomery, and Christopher Rudd. All six were native Americans. Willett was born in Kentucky; the others, with the possible exception of Rudd, in Maryand. All, save Young, had been brought up in Kentucky.[17]

[17] Fenwick's letter as in note 9 of this chapter; SHEA, *op. cit.*, 274-275. The Dominican noviceship is a twelvemonth; nor can it be prolonged beyond that period without grave reason. The profession of Miles and his companions could not have been deferred more than six months without permission from the Master General. There is no record or tradition of its having been delayed, nor any known cause why such action should have been taken. On the other hand, in the documents of the day there is clear evidence of an ardent desire to hasten matters as much as was compatible with efficiency. For these reasons, in the absence of any positive record or proof to the contrary, since they did not make their religious profession until May, 1810, it seems almost certain that they received the habit in April or early May, 1809. Shea says that Nicholas Dominic Young received the habit with Bishop Miles. But the fact that he did not make his profession until several months later, August 4, 1810, shows that this is an error. He was younger than the others, and there is a very distinct tradition in the province that Father N. D. Young's clothing with the habit was deferred because of his age and health.

Before their investiture the postulants were subjected to a serious examination by the superior and his council. In addition to this, as is required by canon law and the Order's constitutions, they were obliged to answer certain important questions regarding the motives that induced them to seek admission into the religious life. They were also required to give a solemn assurance that they had no duties or responsibilities that might require them to remain in the world. The Order, for it never loses sight of the claim of parents, does not admit those whose services are indispensable at home. Even the youthful Province of Saint Joseph, great as was its need of subjects, faithfully adhered to this rule.

Because of its place in the ecclesiastical annals of the west, if for no other reason, this event deserves a further word in our narrative. If it were the first time that such a ceremony was held in public in Kentucky, as it probably was, for the Trappists who had given the habit to novices at a prior date most likely did so in private, it must have aroused no little interest. Tradition tells us that numbers went to witness it, and that many were disappointed because the chapel was too small to admit them. It is a pity that all could not be accommodated, for the investiture of a Friar Preacher, while brief and simple, is a beautiful and solemn rite that leaves a lasting memory, as well as makes a profound impression. Doubtless the parents of these six firstlings of the province, especially Nicholas and Ann Blackloe Miles, never forgot that occasion.

When the time appointed for the ceremony came, the candidates entered the conventual choir, which then also served as a chapel for the people. At a signal given by the superior they prostrated themselves on

the floor, their arms outstretched in the form of a cross. "What do you seek?" *(Quid quaeritis?),* asked the superior. "God's mercy and yours" *(Misericordiam Dei et vestram),* replied the postulants. Then, at another signal, they arose, and knelt while they reverently listened to the instruction of the prior.

The prostration typified immolation of one's self on the altar of humility and obedience. The intent of both question and answer was to signify to the youthful candidates that, if they were to live the life of true religious, they should no longer seek self; that henceforth they should be subject to the will of their superior in all things not sinful. They were not to do the work of their own choice, but that which was assigned to them. They would have to live and labor, not where they pleased, but where they were sent. The provincial might send them anywhere within his jurisdiction; the Master General to the furthermost parts of the earth. All this was explained to them, together with the obligation they were about to assume of bearing patiently the onera and austerities imposed by the rule of Saint Dominic—a wise regulation, for the life of a Friar Preacher is not an easy one. In its entirety it is a life of prayer, sacrifice, and heroic labor for the salvation of souls. Of the mercy of God the applicants were assured, on condition that they proved faithful to the rule of the Order.

At the close of his address, the superior asked: "Do you wish, by the grace of God, to undertake all this in the measure of your strength?" The six candidates answered in chorus: "I do." Then the prior added the prayer: "May God complete that which He has begun." And the community answered: "Amen."

While the strains of "Come, O Holy Ghost" *(Veni Creator)* rose heavenwards, Richard Miles and his five companions knelt in turn before the superior, laid aside their secular garb, and were clothed with the flowing tunic, the long scapular, and the capuche—all of snow whiteness. Over these was placed the black mantle to complete the Order's habit. Then they prostrated themselves for the second time, while the prayers of the liturgy were recited to invoke God's blessings upon them. When the signal was given, they arose and were sprinkled with holy water. Then, while their brethren chanted the *Te Deum,* they received the kiss of peace from each member of the little community—a symbol of the new brotherhood in which they had been enrolled.

All the above is formula whose significance is consecrated by time and usage. It is sacrosanct rubric rendered more venerable by ages of custom. The circumstances of time, place, and the incipient state of the community must have made the affair all the more impressive and inspiring on that occasion.

Father Wilson, of course, because both prior and provincial, officiated at the ceremony. Nor can one doubt that the fact of its being the first incident of its kind in the province combined with the charm and significance of the ceremony to inspire the learned divine to give one of those eloquent and exquisitely instructive discourses, traditions of which still live in central Kentucky. In years past one not infrequently heard echoes of this very event from those who knew of it through their parents or others who were present on the occasion.

The investiture was preceded by a retreat of ten days, as required by the Order's constitutions. No doubt,

again, Richard Miles made a review of his life to the guide of his soul in a general confession. This was in further preparation for the momentous step he was about to take. We may rest assured that the youthful aspirant's tender conscience caused him to make ready for it with his whole heart.

At baptism, by which we are received into the fold of the faithful, the Church requires us to take the name of some saint. The idea is to give us a model after whom we should pattern our lives, and a patron who will intercede for us in heaven. Similarly, in the Order of Saint Dominic, as in most other religious institutes, it is the custom, at the reception of the habit, to add the name of another saint to that by which one was known in the world. This second patron then becomes the exemplar that should guide the religious in his efforts to attain perfection. Richard Miles took the name of Pius in religion, after the great Dominican Pope, Pius V, the last of the Sovereign Pontiffs to receive the honor of canonization.[18]

Almost irresistible is the impulse to attempt a portrayal of the impression made on one of the susceptible character of Nicholas Miles' youngest child by the ceremony in which he took a conspicuous part in the backwoods of Kentucky more than a century ago. However, in view of the impossibility of doing justice to his sentiments, suffice it to say that it really marked the beginnings of the Order of Friars Preacher in the

[18] Samuel Montgomery, at the reception of the habit, became Brother Louis; William Willett Brother Thomas; Stephen Montgomery Brother Hyacinth; Christopher Rudd Brother Antoninus. Of Robert Young's religious name there is no record; nor has it been handed down to us by tradition. For this reason, whenever his name occurs, we shall speak of him as Brother Robert. Possibly he took his baptismal name also in religion.

United States; and that Brother Pius, for this was the name by which Richard now became known, fully realized the significance of the step he had taken. He resolved to become a worthy priest and a faithful member of the institute he had joined, one of whose brightest ornaments is the great athlete of the faith (Saint Pius) after whom he took his name in religion. Through observance of rule, practice of virtue, and the spirit of obedience he became a model in the community, grew in divine wisdom, and gained favor with men no less than before God.

CHAPTER V

RELIGIOUS PROFESSION, STUDENT, PROFESSOR

ALTHOUGH Father Fenwick's humility prevented him from realizing the gifts with which nature had endowed him, the success of his work had so far surpassed perhaps his fondest hopes. He sowed with wisdom. Thus, whilst the location and poverty of the mother-house, the later development of the country which ran north of Kentucky, and other circumtances rendered progress necessarily slow, providence blessed his efforts in the quality, if not in the quantity, of the harvest. However, the richest legacies that he left his brethren at Saint Rose's were holiness of life and the practice of every Christian and religious virtue. They must have exercised a vital force in the formation of Brother Pius' character, for with him they were objects of personal observation.

Fathers Fenwick and Wilson were men of one mind and one heart. The latter, too, was a man of God, who gave his all for the good of the Church and the salvation of souls. His position as prior and provincial, as well as his continuance at Saint Rose's, brought him more in touch with Nashville's future bishop. Closer still were Father Tuite's relations with him, for his office of master of novices made him their immediate superior. His duty required that he give them every possible attention. That he trained so spiritual a man as the patriarch of Tennessee's Church speaks well for

his piety. But tradition and a few scattered documents tell us that, owing to the paucity of priests, he was often obliged to spend Saturday and Sunday on the missions, and that on these occasions Father Wilson took his place in the novitiate.[1]

Father Angier had become a settled missionary in the northern part of the state before the first reception of postulants to the habit. Yet it is but reasonable to suppose that the good word of his apostolic labors had its part in cheering the subject of our narrative in the solitude of his noviceship, and in strengthening him in his vocation.[2]

The part of the house allotted the novices was on the third floor. However, of Brother Pius' novitiate there, or the twelve months that intervened between his reception of the habit and his religious profession, but little is known. Even this little has come down to us more by tradition than in records. Yet through both these channels we know that the extreme want of the community rendered its life harder than it would otherwise have been; that, even under such circumstances, the constitutions of the Order were rather too rigidly than too leniently carried out; and that only the brave and strong could hope to persevere.

These hardships explain why by far the greater number of those who entered the novitiate in the early days did not remain to take the vows. For instance, Christopher Rudd, Brother Antoninus, who received the

[1] It is evidently this fact that explains why one sees Father Wilson noted now and then as novice-master, in addition to his other offices.

[2] The sending of Father Angier to labor on the missions in northern Kentucky involved a heavy loss for Saint Thomas' College, then about ready to be started. It was done at the request of Bishop Carroll, although the sacrifice of him greatly crippled the teaching faculty.

habit with Bishop Miles, though a deeply religious man, found the life more than his strength could stand. He is said to have completed his education in the college. Later he became a physician and a citizen who yielded to none in the popularity he gained in Washington County, or in the influence for good that he wielded among its people. In after life he retained the name of Antoninus which he received in religion, in addition to that of Christopher given him at baptism. For four years he was the state senator from his district, and for three its congressman.[3]

Similarly, Nicholas Young, who took the name of Dominic in religion, was the only one of several who are said to have received the habit with him about the first days of August, 1809, to remain for profession. Indeed, afterwards it became necessary to modify considerably the austerities of the life led at the institution in order to temper it even to the hardy sons of the Kentucky pioneers. Despite the modification, those who were later sent abroad to complete their studies, as well as those who came to the province, after having made their novitiate in Europe, found religious life there much easier than in the backwoods of the west.[4]

[3] WEBB, *op. cit.*, p. 79: COLLINS, *History of Kentucky*, II, 749. Webb speaks of Doctor Rudd having been educated at Saint Thomas' College, but does not mention that he was in the novitiate. Some are averse, without cause, to telling such things. Father Byrne's manuscript sketch of the province and tradition, however, leave no doubt about the fact. Doctor Rudd's memory is still cherished in Washington County, and no one hesitates to state that he once wore the Dominican habit.

[4] A letter of Father Wilson to the Rev. John A. Hill (Rome), dated March 16, 1818, and one of the same Father Hill, from Saint Rose's, in Kentucky, November 21, 1821, to some friend in England, give a very clear idea of the trials and privations of the little community. Wilson's letter (extracts in an Italian translation) is in the Propaganda Archives, America Centrale, Vol. IV, No. 138; Hill's is published in the London

The same tradition tells us again that none bore these trials and hardships more bravely than did Brother Pius Miles. A true son of Saint Dominic, he was joyous under them. Nay, so it is said, he was wont in after years to speak of his novitiate as the happiest period of his life. There was nothing gloomy or morose in his nature. Doubtless this buoyant disposition combined with the grace of God to sustain the youthful candidate in whatever temptation may have crossed his path.

Nothing daunted by trials and privations, Brother Pius advanced in virtue as well as made ready for his religious profession. This pivotal event in his life took place on May 13, 1810.[5] It was of a Sunday, chosen no doubt that the people of the neighborhood might

Catholic Miscellany, I, 327-328. However, neither document details the hardships by any means so fully as does tradition.

[5] For the precise date of the profession of Brother Pius and his companions (Samuel and Stephen Montgomery, Thomas Willett, and Robert Young) we have had to depend on the *Analecta Sacri Ordinis Praedicatorun* for January, 1900 (IV, 440). There used to be at Saint Rose's three or four small books, some ten inches long by eight wide and one thick, with mass, church, community, and miscellaneous records down to about 1830. The writer often had them in his hands. Unfortunately, some years ago, they found their way into a bonfire during one of those spasmodic and careless house-cleanings by which so much priceless material for history has been destroyed. Most likely the then editor of the *Analecta* got the date of these professions from these books, through the medium of some friend, before their destruction; for we know of no other source from which he might have obtained his information. Father Samuel L. Montgomery, one of the five, says in a letter that he made his profession in May, 1810, but he does not give the day of the month.

The *Analecta* does not mention the profession of Brother Robert Young. This omission was probably either because the editor wished to give the names of only those who became priests; or because the one from whom he got his data, under the impression that he wanted only those who attained the priesthood, did not copy the name of Robert Young in the list which he sent. We will refer to Brother Robert again later in this chapter.

the more easily witness a spectacle the like of which few, if any, of them had ever seen. It was perhaps the first public affair of the kind no less in the west than in the new province of Friars Preacher; for the Trappists who had professed two or three novices at an earlier date seem to have done it in private. The day selected for the occasion confirms the old tradition that Saint Rose's Church, but lately dedicated, was filled by the crowd that came for the ceremony, and that it long formed a frequent topic of conversation among the Catholics in that part of the state. Doubtless Brother Pius' parents and relations were among the number.[6]

At the same time, the Catholics of New York City were in anxious expectation of the arrival of their first bishop, the Right Rev. Richard L. Concanen, O.P. Father Fenwick, at the instruction of the provincial, journeyed to the east in order to welcome the friend and patron of Saint Rose's. No doubt he delayed his departure from Kentucky on account of the profession of Brothers Pius Miles, Thomas Willett, Samuel Montgomery, Stephen Montgomery, and Robert Young on May 13, 1810, and that of Brother Dominic Young on the fourth of the following August.[7] The two Youngs,

[6] In bygone days the author often heard old people of Saint Rose's and neighboring parishes speak of this profession. His own maternal grandmother, Mrs. Lucy (Edelen) Hamilton, a woman of fine mind and extraordinary memory, was present at the ceremony. She was a girl ten years of age at the time.

[7] The *Analecta* (see preceding note) gives August 4, 1811, as the date of Father Nicholas Dominic Young's profession. This is evidently a typographical or other error. Both tradition and the ordo of the province give August 4, 1810, as the date of the event. Besides, Bishop Spalding's *Life of Bishop Flaget* (page 69) shows that Father Young (then a novice) was in Maryland in 1811, and met Flaget at Pittsburgh in June of that year. He had certainly made his profession prior to that date; for he could not have left Saint Rose's for such a journey during his simple novitiate, without breaking it and having to make it anew.

it will be remembered, were his nephews. He seems to have started for New York immediately after the latter event.[8] Naturally he was anxious to witness the first religious professions in a branch of his Order that he had lately established, and all the more so because two of his own family were thus to bind themselves to God.

Nothing could be simpler, nor yet more sublime in its significance, than the profession of a Friar Preacher. As a modern writer beautifully expresses it:

> The ceremonial on this occasion has always been simple in the extreme. The absence of all external splendour sets in clear light the superhuman beauty and the profound signification of what is taking place. Great sacrifices call for no display, still less for any long and formal ceremonies. Here is simply a man who is giving himself to God, wholly, unreservedly, until death. And he does so in a few brief words shorn of all rhetoric; yet no one who retains any sense of supramundane realities can fail to be stirred to the depths of his soul when he witnesses such a scene.
>
> With his hands laid between those of the Prior, and resting on the book of Constitutions, kneeling like some vassal of old before his suzerain, the novice pronounces in a loud voice the formula which is to decide his life forever.[9]

In 1857, Pius IX enacted a law by which the members of religious orders were required to take, at first, only simply perpetual vows. These were to be followed by solemn vows three years later, unless a dispensation should intervene. Today, by virtue of the new code of canon law, religious must first take temporary vows for three years, and then the solemn. In the olden times solemn vows were taken from the

[8] *Life of Bishop Fenwick,* pp. 173-174.

[9] JACQUIN, *Le Frère Prêcheur Autrefois et Aujourdhui,* p. 168 (Father Hugh Pope's translation under the title of *The Friar Preacher Yesterday and To-day,* p. 140).

start, and the greater number of theologians held that they constituted an engagement from which not even the Sovereign Pontiff could grant a dispensation.[10]

Brother Pius Miles and his four companions made their profession under the old law. With one heroic act they cut themselves away from the world, and bound themselves irrevocably to the service of God in the life of a Friar Preacher. This was precisely what Brother Pius wanted. The valiant soldier of Christ wished to be linked with the Blessed Master by bonds that could not be easily severed. We may rest assured, therefore, that, during the ten days' retreat which preceded it, he prepared for the joyful event with his whole heart and soul.

It is of such a ceremony that Father Jacquin speaks in his *Le Frère Prêcheur Autrefois et Aujourdhui.* The copy of the formula of profession which Brother Pius made for himself, and used at that time, no longer exists. In default of it, we take that which is found in the constitutions, and, by filling in the names suited to the occasion, give an English translation of the words by which he bound himself to the way of perfection on that memorable day of his life.

I, Brother Richard Pius Miles, make my religious profession, and promise obedience to God, to the Blessed Virgin Mary, to our Holy Father Saint Dominic, and to you, Very Rev. Samuel Thomas Wilson, Prior Provincial of this Province of Saint Joseph, acting in the place of the Most Rev. Pius Joseph Gaddi, Master General of the Order of Friars Preacher, and his successors, according to the Rule of Saint Augustine and the Constitutions of

[10] We speak here of religious orders in the strict canonical sense of the term, not of religious congregations. The Society of Jesus also formed an exception to the rule of Pius IX, for its members do not make solemn vows until some years after they have taken the simple.

the Friars Preacher. To you and to your successors I promise obedience until death.

Brother Richard Pius Miles, of the Order of Preachers.[11]

Solemn words these, clear, vigorous, to the point—expressive of a heroic and complete sacrifice of one's self to God. They were typical of him who thus immolated himself on the altar of divine love that thirteenth day of May, 1810. Well had he pondered over them; thoroughly did he understand their meaning. They gave him a picture of his future life. It was a picture that pleased him, despite the sacrifice involved, for in it was shown the narrow but sure path that leads to God and eternal happiness with Him in heaven.

First of all, he pledged obedience to God, for in obeying he would submit his will to that of the Creator rather than to that of man. He promised obedience to the Blessed Virgin, which reminded him that the Queen of Heaven is the patroness and protectrix of the Order, to whom its members owe a special filial devotion. No mention was made of the visible head of the Church; but Brother Pius knew well, as do all his brethren, that the entire institute is under the Pope, and must render obedience to him as the Vicar of Christ on earth. The young Friar Preacher also promised obedience to Saint Dominic. This told him that the founder of the Order, next to the Divine Master, was the ideal after which he should strive to model his life as a religious.

It will be noticed that Brother Pius made his profession to Father Wilson, the local superior or provincial, acting not in his own name, but in that of the Master General. This fact merely showed him wherein lie

[11] *Constitutiones Fratrum S. Ordinis Praedicatorum, Paris,* 1886, pp. 151-152

the supreme authority and principle of unity in the Order. It did not free our American cleric from the obligation of full and unqualified obedience to any and every superior under whom he might be placed. Indeed, addressing Father Wilson in the last sentence of his profession, he said: "To you and to your successors I promise obedience until death."

The norm of the obedience that he was to render he saw clearly specified in the words "according to the Rule of Saint Augustine and the Constitutions of the Friars Preacher." But we must not forget that he obliged himself to follow these in addition to the laws of the Church and the Catholic code of morality, which teach submission to every legitimate authority as coming from God.

Thus, the reader can hardly have failed to remark, obedience is the keynote to the profession of the youthful Friar Preacher. Indeed, it is pivotal in every order. Without it no religious institute could long survive. It is expressly to emphasize this important truth that in the Order of Saint Dominic the vows of poverty and chastity are not mentioned in the formula of profession. They are contained in that of obedience as beauty and sweetness in the rose.

Not content with the observance of the general commandment of our Lord: "Render therefore to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's", Brother Pius was anxious to bind himself to follow even the divine counsels. His wish to be perfect impelled him to the religious state, for he knew that such a life would oblige him to strive after perfection.[12]

12 The religious life is rightly called a state of perfection, because he

In the instructions on the aims and purposes of the Order that he received during his novitiate he learned that he must labor for something more than his own personal sanctification; that Saint Dominic established his institute expressly for the salvation of souls; that the vocation of every Friar Preacher, therefore, requires him to keep this idea ever uppermost in his mind; and that the specific means by which he is to carry out the chivalrous Spaniard's dominant design in the foundation of his institute are preaching and teaching the word of God.[13] In fact, all a Dominican's studies, the observance of his rule, and everything else must subserve the prime object of his Order, which is the salvation of souls. This idea the subject of our sketch never lost sight of, whether as a scholastic, priest, or bishop.

A Friar Preacher's higher course of studies (that is, philosophy, theology, and the accompanying branches) begins after his profession, unless he has made them, in part at least, prior to entering the Order. He is supposed to have completed the classics before he receives the habit. The novitiate proper should be given wholly to his spiritual formation. But those days of stress, when priests were few and the calls for laborers as well many as urgent, necessitated a partial dispensation from the rigid law. Yet the superiors were careful that the mitigation involved no serious interference with the routine of novitiate life.

who embraces it obliges himself to aim at perfection. It is no sin for a religious not to be perfect; but it is a sin for him not to desire or aim at perfection.

[13] The first *Declaratio* in the prologue of the constitutions states emphatically that the Order was specially founded for the salvation of souls, and that the specific means for the attainment of this end are preaching and teaching the word of God.

There can be no doubt that Brother Pius applied himself to the classics between the time of his reception and that of his profession, and little doubt but that he had become proficient in Latin when he took his vows. In the olden days ecclesiastical students were diligently drilled in that language. It is this that explains how they mastered it so quickly. Some of the early fathers educated at Saint Rose's were excellent Latin scholars. We recall, for instance, the Rev. Joseph T. Jarboe, who, it is said, could quote both the prose and poetry of the ancient Romans by the hour.[14]

Tradition tells us that Bishop Miles was also a good Latinist. Nor is its truth to be doubted, for his teachers, Fathers Wilson, Angier, and Tuite, were men of ability and education as well as trained in the art of pedagogy. It would be interesting to know just how they first taught Brother Pius and those who began their novitiate with him. Works on the classics could hardly have been found in Kentucky at that time, and these proto-Catholic professors brought few books with them. Possibly, until this defect could be remedied, they used a system akin to the modern Berlitz method of languages, than which perhaps no other gives such satisfactory progress in beginners. There is something of a tradition in the province to that effect. Furthermore, it tells us that they supplemented this manner of instruction with written lessons which they required the students to learn by heart; and that the results were splendid.[15]

[14] Father Jarboe could repeat the classics with marvellous facility even after he had attained the age of eighty years.

[15] Tradition tells us that Father Wilson wrote a Latin grammar and also an entire course of theology adapted to the needs of England and the United States. But shortly before his death the collection of manuscript

Be this as it may, Brother Pius began the study of philosophy soon, if not immediately, after his religious profession; for he had made four years in the classics prior to that time—no mean course, if we consider the day and the special attention then paid to Latin. Theology followed philosophy in due order. These two sciences were, of course, accompanied by the study of other branches of learning, such as Scripture, history, and polemics, the last of which was then much in vogue. In all did he give satisfaction to his superiors. In Father Wilson, we should not forget, he had the advantage of studying under one of the most learned scholars, and perhaps the best philosopher and theologian, then in the United States.

Although he is not usually given this credit, the future prelate numbered among his gifts an artistic taste and no mean talent for music. Fortunately, in spite of his busy life, he was able to develop them under the guidance of Father Tuite. There had long been a tradition about these two men having decorated the parlors of the second Convent of Saint Rose. And five or six years ago, when the plaster was removed from this part of the structure in the course of its renovation, the brick walls were found to be covered with graceful festoons and other ornaments in water-colors. Hardly does it seem probable that there was any one else in Kentucky at the time capable of such artistic work.[16]

disappeared. It is thought that he himself, through an exaggerated spirit of humility, committed these compositions to the flames. Possibly he had even other writings which he destroyed in the same way. Spalding's *Early Missions* (p. 154) speaks of the tradition as regards the course of theology.

[16] Tradition has it that they also decorated the first Saint Rose's Church.

As a musician, indeed, Brother Pius was considered a prodigy in the backwoods of the west. His talent along this line not only brought him into prominence among the people, but also proved a valuable asset for the college and church at a time when it was not easy to procure persons with musical attainments except on the Atlantic seaboard, or in the former Spanish and French settlements beyond the Mississippi River. Even after his ordination he retained charge of the parish choir, and presided at the organ for at least one episcopal consecration.[17]

Father Wilson, in a letter to the Rev. John Augustine Hill, O.P., tells us that the early students at Saint Rose's were taught French and Italian, in addition to the courses ordinarily given in seminaries.[18] Bishop Miles is said to have had a good knowledge of both these languages, a rather extraordinary acquisition for an American at that time who had been entirely educated at home. More than likely he taught these branches in Saint Thomas' College while a professor in that institution.

From the outset, it will be recalled, the founders of Saint Joseph's Province of Dominicans had intended to establish, in connection with their convent, a college for the education of secular youth. Accordingly, preparations for the erection of a church and still another building for educational purposes were got under way even before they took possession of the new priory.

[17] Webb speaks of Bishop Miles' musical talent in his *Centenary of Catholicity,* pp. 207 and 211. A contributor (from Paducah, Kentucky,) to the *Catholic Advocate* of April 24, 1847, speaks of how he learned music under Father Miles. The contributor seems to have attended Saint Thomas' College in the twenties of the nineteenth century.

[18] See note 4 of this chapter. Father Hill had lately entered the Order in Rome for the American province, and was making his studies there.

Great quantities of brick were burned for these structures in 1807; since, with an eye to the future, it was determined to make them large enough to meet all demands for years to come.[19]

However, the realities could not keep pace with the zeal of these pioneer builders. Father Fenwick's patrimony had been exhausted by what had already been accomplished; financial depression bore heavily on the country; the people, although both Catholics and non-Catholics had hitherto contributed generously of their brawn and time in the enterprise, were not able to fulfill their promises of money. It would seem, in fact, that, discouraged by hardships or even the difficulty of making ends meet in the necessaries of life, they now became disheartened, largely lost interest in the education of their children, and no longer showed the same readiness to give the little community the aid of their muscles in the erection of the proposed church and college.

In this way, the two structures rose much more slowly than had been expected. Because of the untoward circumstances, the postulants, novices, and professed clerics were obliged to measure their strength, between classes and religious exercises, with that of colored servant, hired man, and sturdy farmer in making brick, lime, mortar or plaster, felling trees, sawing and hauling lumber, rearing walls, or whatever work was necessary for the common good.[20] This toil was their rec-

[19] Father Fenwick, Lexington, Kentucky, to Father Concanen, Rome, July 10, 1808 (Archives of the Dominican General, Codex XIII, 731).

[20] The reader need hardly be told that negro slavery prevailed in all the southern states at this time, and that every white man with means had his slaves. Institutions formed no exception to the rule. Indeed, fortunate was considered the lot of a colored person who belonged to a Catholic clergyman or institution, for in such hands he was sure to

reation. They had little other diversion. Their lives were a succession of periods at prayer, study, and manual labor.

The priests themselves were not above taking part in such menial toil and good-natured rivalry. It has been handed down to us that Father Wilson, a stockily, well-built Englishman, could hold his own in lifting with the strongest of the laborers. Learned divine and provincial though he was, he spent many of his spare moments in this way, for it was useful to the community, as well as gave him the physical exercise necessary for health. Father Tuite, cast in a more delicate mold, could not perform the heaviest toil; yet he did whatever he could, and his time permitted.

Father Fenwick, weak but wiry, busied himself without surcease at every sort of occupation. He was both missioner and syndic. On his return from a missionary tour, he would take a rapid survey of what had been accomplished, and then join in the work himself. Before leaving on another journey in quest of souls to be saved, he mapped out what he wished to be done during his absence. His zeal and restless activity left him little repose.

Brother Pius Miles did his part bravely. Even after he became a member of our American hierarchy, he used frequently to speak of how his face was browned by exposure, while his hands were blistered and callous from manual toil in his student days and early priesthood. Apparently, perhaps with a view of encouraging them in their lighter trials, he loved to recount these experiences before the younger men of

receive not only humane treatment, but also due consideration for his soul.

the province in which he had been a distinguished leader.[21]

Such things may appear almost insupportable to many of our readers. Possibly they would be for our generation, accustomed as we are to every manner of luxury. Yet we must remember that life in the past was vastly different from what it is at present. It was harder in every way, although it had its counterbalance of a free-heartedness and contentment to which we are almost strangers. Besides, some of the trials that have been detailed were imposed by a necessity that knew no law.

In the mind of the serious student of history, even though he be glad that he escaped them, there can be small doubt that such hardships conduce to formation of character. They had not a little to do in the making of the grand personages of bygone days, the perusal of whose noble lives affords no less delightful than instructive pastime. Trial and privation have their advantages as well as their disadvantages. Few men have ever amounted to much without having passed through them. In the story of the first bishop of Tennessee they are as a flavor, give it the additional charm of sympathy,

21 There is no tradition in the Province of Saint Joseph more definite or more persistent than that about the manual toil of its early members in the construction of Saint Rose's Church and Saint Thomas' College, and even in the fields. We have a very distinct recollection of hearing the following priests tell how Bishop Miles had edified them with recitals of his early experiences along these lines—the Revs. Sydney A. Clarkson, James V. Edelen, Osman A. Walker, John A. Bokel, Constantine L. Egan, Michael D. Lilly, John H. Lynch, John B. McGovern, Denis J. Meagher, Jeremiah P. Turner, Dominic H. Noon, John A. Rochford, and Joseph H. Slinger. The old lay brothers were wont to tell the same story, and also the old sisters at Saint Catherine's, near Springfield, Kentucky, and at Saint Mary's of the Springs, Columbus, Ohio.

and show what manner of man he was, just as they had their part in preparing him for the hard labor that God had in store for him. It speaks well for him and his confrères that we find no word of complaint from them, however oppressive their toil or adverse their circumstances. They always wrote kindly of the people, and praised their good-will, but never criticised them for their lack of support.

Because of the many drawbacks, Saint Rose's Church was not completed until late in 1809, although it had most likely been in use before that time. Its dedication took place on the feast of Christmas, which fell that year on Monday. Thus the occasion was a two-fold source of joy for the parish and community. It is worthy of note that it was the first brick Catholic church finished west of the Alleghany Mountains; and that, albeit far from sumptuous, it was for some years considered one of the finest temples of divine worship in the country.[22]

Events of note now began to succeed one another with greater rapidity in Kentucky. On November 4, 1810, the Right Rev. Benedict J. Flaget, who had been appointed bishop of Bardstown in April, 1808, was consecrated in Baltimore by Archbishop Carroll. He arrived at Father Badin's residence, where he was to make his home temporarily, in June, 1811. There the fathers of Saint Rose's formed a part of the committee

22 Rev. S. T. Badin to Archbishop Carroll, February 5, 1810 (Baltimore Archives, Case 1, I 7). In this letter Father Badin writes: "The church of St. Rose was opened on Christmas Day; that of St. Patrick [,Danville,] will be opened probably on the 17th or 18th of March." This document certainly refutes the contention that Saint Patrick's was completed before Saint Rose's. It was commenced before, but it rose still more slowly, a circumstance that shows how hard it was to build in Kentucky in those days, if one had to depend wholly on home aid.

for his reception.[23] Whether Brother Pius and the other scholastics accompanied them can not now be known; but it is quite probable they were also present, for there was certainly an effort to make the occasion as solemn as possible. None of these candidates for the priesthood could hardly have ever seen a bishop before. None of them had been confirmed, although they were already professed members of a religious order. For them, therefore, Doctor Flaget's arrival was a source of genuine joy for more reasons than one.

In the little band of clergy and seminarians that accompanied the saintly prelate to Kentucky was a young subdeacon, the Rev. Guy Ignatius Chabrat, destined later to become auxiliary bishop of Bardstown. He was soon to be raised to the priesthood. Since there was no other church in the new diocese well suited for so notable an occasion as the first sacerdotal ordination not only in the state but even in the entire west, or large enough to accommodate all who might wish to witness it, Father Wilson suggested that Saint Rose's should be used for the purpose. Bishop Flaget gratefully accepted his proffer. There, accordingly, Father Chabrat was priested on ember Saturday, December 21, 1811. The event aroused considerable pious sentiment among the people; but unfortunately, as the weather was bad, only a few could attend the ceremony.[24]

23 SPALDING, *Early Missions*, pp. 182-192; and *Life of Bishop Flaget*, pp. 60-72.

24 Bishop Flaget to Archbishop Carroll, January 1, 1812 (Baltimore Archives, Case 8 A, K 3). Doctor Flaget says here: "On the 21 of December I had the happiness of ordaining Mr. Chabrat priest. The ceremony was performed in St. Rose's Church; but as the weather was

Either Father Tuite or Brother Pius must have presided at the organ and directed the music for the occasion. Most likely it was Brother Pius, for the priests were wanted in the sanctuary. At any rate, there originated at the time a life-long friendship between the newly ordained clergyman and the youthful Friar Preacher, which afterwards perhaps had its part in the promotion of both to the miter.

The joy caused by the ordination of the first priest in Kentucky was soon followed by an event of sadness for the community at Saint Rose's, which one may believe brought no little sorrow to the subject of our narrative. Brother Robert Young failed in health shortly after his religious profession. Tradition tells us that his uncle, Father Fenwick, took him and his brother, Nicholas D Young, to Maryland in the hope that the air of his native state might restore the invalid's health; and that he did not live long after his return to the west.

No doubt Brother Robert was then on his way back to Kentucky, and was one of those who, Bishop

very unfavorable, the congregation was small. Everything was carried out with much propriety and fervor. Previous to the ceremony, Mr. Badin explained minutely everything that was to be done, which gave great satisfaction to the people and myself."

In both his *Early Missions* and his *Life of Bishop Flaget*, Bishop Spalding states that Father Chabrat was ordained on Christmas Day, 1811. Other writers, naturally, have followed him. We always felt that the feast of Christmas was an extraordinary time for an ordination; and all the more so in the Kentucky of that day, where the clergy were obliged to multiply their exertions in order that the people might hear mass on Sunday or a holy day of obligation once in a month or six weeks. This letter of Bishop Flaget, there can be no doubt, gives the correct date of the ordination of Father Chabrat. The truth of it is confirmed by the presence of Father Badin—perhaps other diocesan priests also—, and by the fact that the advent ember Saturday is one of the appointed days for ordination.

Spalding informs us, were with Father Fenwick when he met Bishop Flaget at Pittsburgh, in May, 1811.[25] While the date is not certain, Brother Robert Young seems to have died in 1812. His was the first death in the incipient province, and it is said that he was a pious young man who gave much promise. Possibly these two facts have contributed more than anything else to keep his memory so long in tradition, albeit he did not live even to complete his studies.[26]

25 Spalding, *Life of Bishop Flaget*, p. 69.

26 Strange to say not a record of Brother Robert Young can now be unearthed at Saint Rose's. Possibly something about him found its way into the bonfire mentioned in note 5 of this chapter. Not even a tombstone marks his grave. Doubtless he was buried in a part of the parish graveyard set apart for the community. In 1829, Father Raphael Muños started another burial place for the fathers and brothers, to which he had transferred the body of Father Wilson, who died five years before. However, no mention is made of a transfer of Brother Robert. He had been dead seventeen years, and there was then no one left at the convent who was there at the time of his death, and there were no tombstones in the graveyard at this period. Possibly ignorance as to the exact spot where he lay determined Father Muños not to distrub his place of rest. Until quite recently only wooden crosses marked the graves in the cemetery of the community. Often these were allowed to fall and rot until all trace of the names, and sometimes even the memory of the buried, was lost.

Fortunately a strong and definite tradition in the province kept the memory of Brother Robert Young alive. The writer often heard the old priests who knew Father Nicholas D. Young well say that he frequently told them that his brother Robert, about two years and a half older than himself, was in the first band of novices to receive the habit and make his profession at Saint Rose's, and that he died there as a clerical novice. Father Fenwick, in his letter of July 10, 1808, tells Father Concanen that he has two nephews among the postulants at Saint Rose's, who range from fifteen to nineteen years. Father Dominic Young, born in 1793, was fifteen years of age, which would make Brother Robert seventeen.

Father Young, who spent the last year or two of his life in Washington City, retained a clear mind and memory until the end. A little while before his death, the fathers at Georgetown College gave a dinner in his honor, one of the purposes of which was to have him give them a history of the noted Young family. Our late friend, the Rev. Edward I. Devitt, S.J., then a young man and a student of history, was one of the instiga-

SAINT ROSE'S PRIORY AND SAINT THOMAS' COLLEGE, SPRINGFIELD, KENTUCKY

THE FIRST PRIORY IN THE UNITED STATES, AND THE FIRST CATHOLIC COLLEGE WEST OF THE ALLEGHANY MOUNTAINS

The college, a much larger structure, rose more slowly than the church. It appears to have been built piecemeal, as circumstances permitted. Almost everyone worked on it. But in 1812, on the receipt of a legacy left the community by Bishop Concanen, Father Fenwick brought it to completion in a hurry.[27]

tors of the plan to bring the venerable clergyman to Georgetown. Father Young, Father Devitt often told us, was in fine fettle on the occasion. As he talked, Devitt and others, so posted that he could not notice them, took down what he said. The story appeared in the Georgetown *College Journal* of January, 1879. In it Father Young states that his brother "Robert became a Dominican, and died at the age of twenty-one." This fact, as he was about two years and a half older than Father Young, and the latter was born on June 11, 1793, would make the date of Brother Robert's birth late in 1790 or early in 1791, and that of his death about 1812.

The extant records of the college conducted in connection with Saint Rose's date back to shortly after 1812. In them one finds an occasional mention of Brothers Pius Miles, Dominic Young, Stephen Montgomery, Thomas Willett, and Louis Montgomery (his companions in the novitiate), but Brother Robert's name does not occur once.

The late Rev. Hugh Ewing of Columbus, Ohio, whose mother was a niece of Father Nicholas D. and Brother Robert Young, had an old family Bible, which is now in the possession of his sister, Mrs. Charles W. Montgomery of Newark, Ohio. It gives the date of Ignatius Young's birth as December 29, 1790; that of Nicholas, the priest, as June 11, 1793; and that of Robert as February 21, 1795. Such family records are often inexact in some particular. If we exchange the dates of birth between Robert and Ignatius, making the former the elder, and born December 29, 1790, it fits in with almost mathematical nicety with the tradition of the province, the statement of Father Nicholas D. Young, and the scanty records of Saint Rose's. To the writer the Bible record seemed clearly to say: "Robert Young died Jan.[uary] 6th, 1812." Father Ewing maintained that the year was 1822; and the last time we saw the book "1822" was written in fresh ink. It is not stated that Robert was a Dominican; but the fact that he did not attain the priesthood, and his early death in the backwoods of Kentucky, would account for this lapsus. General Hugh Ewing, father of the Rev. Hugh Ewing, got out a genealogical tree of the Fenwick and Young families, in which he followed the family Bible. He states that Robert Young "died without issue," but does not mention that he was a religious.

[27] Father Fenwick to Jacob Dittoe, Lancaster, Ohio, May 25, 1812 (Archives of Saint Joseph's Priory).

Meanwhile, however (seemingly from late in 1808, or early in 1809), the school had not only been in action; it had also gained a good repute. It was called Saint Thomas' College, after the patron of Catholic schools, Saint Thomas of Aquin, the great Dominican theologian. In the beginning, the boarders were lodged partly in the first convent (the former Waller home), and partly in the portion of the new priory intended for postulants.[28] Classes were held in the parlors or any available place. But, in accordance as it was made ready for their reception, both boys and classes were gradually removed to the college proper until it sheltered the entire secular element of the institution.

No sooner was the edifice completed than Saint Thomas' College began really to flourish in point of numbers. Besides the inmates, there were not a few day scholars, both boys and young men, who came

[28] Father Fenwick is not always clear and definite in his statements. In one place in his letter of July 10, 1808, to Concanen he seems to say that there were twenty-two postulants at Saint Rose's and immediately afterwards that there were twelve. If there were twelve, only his nephews, Robert and Nicholas Young, paid for their education ($100.00 *per annum*); if twenty-two, twelve paid that sum. Whichever the number, ten were being educated gratis.

As has been seen, the tradition that Richard Miles was one of these postulants, and that he had been with Father Wilson from the time he lived at the home of Henry Boone, can hardly be questioned. Nicholas Miles, Richard's father, was a man of considerable means for the day, generous, large-hearted, and possessed of too much family pride to let his son be educated without pay. For this reason, together with the tradition that a large number of boys placed themselves under the fathers at this time (although few persevered), we are inclined to think that the number of postulants was twenty-two, and that Richard Miles was one of those who paid $100.00 *per annum*. As we learn from a letter of Fenwick to Bishop Carroll, May 7, 1808 (Baltimore Archives, Case 3, R 10), there were then eight postulants at the institution. Possibly all these had come from the school at Boone's.

from the neighborhood, some of whom are said to have ridden eight or ten miles in order to take advantage of the opportunities thus offered them. Although religious bias ran rather rampant at the time, many forgot their prejudices under the impulse of the college's good name and their desire to obtain an education. Indeed, it seems quite sure that at times Saint Thomas' had as many, if not even more non-Catholics than Catholics among its students. Thus it accomplished much good in the uplift of the state and in the way of breaking down the spirit of intolerance as well.

As early as 1806, Fathers Fenwick and Wilson had journeyed through the state on horseback in order to make known their project of establishing a college;[29] nor did they afterwards slacken their efforts. Now their zeal began to bear its reward in every way, except in a pecuniary remuneration. Kentucky was then a new commonwealth sparsely settled; the people, as a rule, had very limited means; the financial depression continued; ready money remained scarce. One marvels rather that so many went to the college than that more did not attend it. We may call those days heroic for both the professors and their charges.

Comparatively few at least of the students at Saint Thomas', it has also flown down to us on the stream of tradition, could pay all their board and tuition even in the currency of Kentucky, which lost perhaps half of its value when it was necessary to purchase articles outside the state.[30] Many paid partly in kind; not a

[29] Fenwick, Scott County, Kentucky, to Bishop Carroll (Baltimore Archives, Case 3, R 11). This letter is not dated, but other documents show that it was written early in Ocober, 1806.

[30] That was in the days when the idea of state banks ran rampant. Their paper money, unbacked by specie, was sometimes even almost worthless in another state.

few partly or wholly in labor. Before the completion of the church and college, most of these spent a few hours each day in helping in whatever way they could with the rising structures. Later they were employed at any kind of light work that was helpful to the institution or conducive to their support. The commodities or produce received from the pupils, some of whose parents were small merchants, proved useful for the table and in other ways, though more frequently than not they were far from being the most beneficial method of payment for the community.

In this connection we may mention Robert Abell, later on one of Kentucky's most efficient missionaries and noted pulpit orators. Some writers mention that he was in Saint Thomas' College; but they do not tell that he was once a Dominican novice. Perhaps they were not aware of this fact; or perhaps they preferred to pass it over in silence. However, his failure there involves no disgrace, nor the recording of it any indelicacy. He himself was not ashamed of it; neither did he hesitate to tell how he had once worn the habit. It was felt that his vocation lay in another than a religious life. For this reason, he left the novitiate, but wisely, and very probably on the advice of Father Wilson or Father Tuite, went to the diocesan seminary. He is a credit to Saint Thomas' College and Saint Rose's priory no less than to the Church of Kentucky.

Never did he give up the friendships that he formed during his college and novitiate days with the Friars Preacher, among which we may note those with the future bishop of Tennessee and Father Nicholas D. Young. Like Christopher Rudd, he retained a grateful recollection of Saint Rose's throughout his life.

Father Abell lost his father when he was ten years of age. The tradition of the province places him at Saint Rose's in the early years of the institution; yet it does not seem to include him among the postulants there in May, 1808, in whom Father Fenwick found much consolation.[31] Ten of these were educated gratis. Young Abell was most likely taken in the same way, for his widowed mother possessed no generous share of the goods of this world. Be this as it may, as long as he lived, the great preacher loved to visit his alma mater and the scenes of his early school days. Often he made a retreat there.

Some years back, the older priests of the province, who had made their noviceship at Saint Rose's, or lived there, and met him on these occasions, were wont often to speak of how he claimed many privileges on the strength of early associations. One of these was that of going to the novitiate to see the novices and students. On these visits he never failed to recount the old times, his experiences as a student and a novice, and how he had worked on both Saint Rose's Church and Saint Thomas' College.

"Yes," he would say in a jocular way, "I helped to build both the church and the college. Then they sent me away. Father Wilson thought I did not have enough talent to become a son of Saint Dominic. But I think I have done pretty well—quite sufficient to prove him wrong, and that I would have made a very creditable Dominican. However, God rest him, he was a great, learned, and holy priest, no less than an eloquent preacher. I profited much from him. The

[31] Letter of July 10, 1808, to Concanen. Tradition has it that he received the habit after Father Nicholas D. Young made his profession.

Lord willed it so. Hence I am a member of the Church militant among the secular clergy, instead of among the fathers of Saint Rose's, a place that I love. I'm sorry; but the ways of God are not the ways of man. I owe it to Saint Rose's that I am a priest of God, for which I can not be too grateful."[32]

Father Abell, eloquent preacher that he was, lost no opportunity to deliver a speech. On the occasions of his visits at Saint Rose's he invariably gave the young men a discourse. In these talks he extolled the virtues of the founders of the establishment, spoke of the first priests trained there, told of the hardships and privations which all bore bravely, gave exhibitions of Father Wilson's style of oratory, and descanted on the studious, tireless habits of the boys in those days. The noted clergyman's genial spirit and fidelity to his alma mater combined with his lectures (for such we may call them) to render his stays pleasant and welcome as well as interesting and instructive. From superior and master of novices he received every courtesy. The doors of the priory were ever open to him. He saw it, and it made him feel perfectly at home.[33]

[32] Mr. Webb (*Centenary of Catholicity*, p. 109) quotes a letter in which it is stated that Father Abell went from Saint Rose's to the diocesan seminary in 1811. But the old fathers of the province thought this date was too early, for on the occasions of his visits to Saint Rose's he always declared that he had helped on the college until its completion, and this was in 1812. This contention is sustained by the date of his ordination and the rapidity with which the first students of the seminary were advanced to the priesthood. However, it should be noted that the date usually given as that of his ordination, August 14, 1818, can not be correct; for Spalding's *Life of Bishop Flaget* (pp. 183-205) shows that the bishop left Kentucky for Detroit in May, 1818, and did not return until the end of June, 1819. We wonder if the real date of Father Abell's ordination might be August 14, 1817.

[33] Fathers Charles H. McKenna, William Quinn, and William F. Linahan were the last to die of those who used frequently to speak of

One of the greatest difficulties against which our educational institutions had to contend in the early days was that of getting a sufficient corps of suitable professors. Catholic colleges were especially tried in this way. They received no public aid; they had scant means. Besides, those of the faith, for the protection of which they were largely founded, were not only vastly fewer in numbers, but also possessed of much less wealth than non-Catholics. Because of these handicaps, in the schools under church auspices the pupils in the higher grades helped with the teaching of those in the lower branches. We find the practice in about all our early American Catholic colleges. It was not uncommon even in institutions that were accorded public help.

However, the plan, though not the best in itself, had its advantages in those pioneer days. First of all, in more than one instance it rendered possible a Catholic school which could not have been maintained under any other system. Again, it enabled many an ambitious young man, by thus making at least a partial payment for his education, to carry his own studies to a point of completion to which otherwise it would have been idle for him to aspire. It gave the budding student-professor confidence, taught him to think for himself, and often afforded him an insight into his subject-matter that he did not get from his teachers.

The method would receive little support from modern educators; yet some of the greatest men of the past worked their way through college in the double capac-

Father Abell's visits. It seems that, even when on distant missions, he rarely, if ever, let a year pass without at least a brief visit to his first alma mater. Always did he eulogize Father Wilson's solid, instructive, and eloquent sermons. Some have thought that he imbibed much of his ambition and inspiration for preaching from the learned Friar Preacher.

ity of student and professor. We find them in the fields of literature, the classics, philosophy, the professions, and even pedagogy itself, no less than in that of commerce. Fortunately, therefore, the system was not regarded with an unfavorable eye by the public at that period. That those not of the faith made no discrimination against Catholic colleges merely because they were so conducted is evidenced by the fact that they often selected them for the education of their sons in preference to schools favored by state patronage, or under the auspices of their own creed. They realized that these institutions were guided by educated clergymen who took good care that no teacher proved derelict in his duty, and that the moral character of the students was trained at the same time that their minds were developed.

That the Dominican College of Saint Thomas, in Kentucky, was conducted on this plan seems beyond question.[34] The first bishop of Nashville had commenced his studies before the opening of the college proper; but there is little doubt that he made a part of his classical course in it. At the same time, following the custom of the day, he aided Fathers Wilson and Tuite in the instruction of the students less advanced than himself.

After his religious profession, as has been seen, he began his higher studies. Along with these also, for there was little time for leisure in those days, he continued to lend a hand to the professorial staff in

[34] This was one of the topics on which Father Abell was wont to speak during his visits. Webb insinuates it on page 204 of his *Centenary;* Fenwick (letter of July 10, 1808) tells Concanen that the fathers intend to adopt it. Indeed, because of the small number of priests, the college could not have been carried on otherwise.

whatever way it was required. He still took his turn at manual labor, as he was needed, or the occasion presented itself. The office of prefect fell to him in regular turn. In all these duties, tradition tells us, the youthful Friar Preacher acquitted himself to the satisfaction of his superiors. No more could be expected of one engaged in so many things. He is said to have shone especially in philosophy and theology. Yet he did not suffer these various occupations to interfere with his religious life or observance. Punctuality in attendance at the community exercises was one of his characteristics. He never failed to be among the first who appeared for them, unless prevented by an order from his superior, or the duty to which he was assigned.

Those who may be tempted to doubt that one could have made much progress in the highway of education under such conditions should remember that the simple games of the past took little time. The youths of that era were satisfied with less than are those of today. They lived under sterner conditions, which made them more serious, filled them with greater regard for their elders, gave them a readier spirit of obedience, rendered them more docile to the laws and regulations of their superiors, caused them to be industrious. They rose earlier, and labored later.

They were not afraid of work. Baseball, football, basketball, and our other athletic sports were unknown to them. The hours which modern youths in school or college give to these pastimes and festivity they gave to toil that was useful in many ways. They did not take up all the topics taught the present generation, not a few of which are fantastic or merely ornamental;

but what they did study they learned more thoroughly. Too often we simply teach our boys to walk on stilts; those of a hundred years ago were trained to tread on *terra firma.* They mastered principles and elements, thus laying a solid foundation whereon they could afterwards build through personal industry—which, after all, is the real objective of a college education.

Brother Pius Miles spent more than ten years of such a student life before his ordination. It was a period which combined with a splendid religious training to give him that character, at once charming and stalwart, which made him an ornament to the hierarchy of our American Church, no less than to its priesthood.

CHAPTER VI

END OF STUDENT DAYS, ORDINATION

One could ask no better criterion whereby to judge the character of a man than the life he leads and the spirit with which he lives it. Tried by such a test, Bishop Miles stands out as a personage who compels admiration.

While, as Bishop Spalding states, the Dominicans in Kentucky wrote little, they were certainly faithful to their calling and zealous in the cause of God. They worked hard, and performed their duties well. During the time that he was superior, Father Fenwick wrote to his friends, Bishop Carroll and Father Concanen, frequently enough to leave us letters that throw much light on the earliest days of Saint Joseph's Province of Friars Preacher. But from that date letters become sadly few. Fortunately, however, those that have survived the destructive agencies of time clearly establish the truth of a living and inspiring tradition of the province, which, it can not be repeated too often, informs us that its founders and first recruits were scrupulously exact in the obligations of their state of life, when there was every reason to excuse them from a rigid observance. Even under the most adverse circumstances they sought minutely to carry out the rules and constitutions of their Order.

The year in which the subject of our narrative was raised to the priesthood, for instance, the Master Gen-

eral writes to congratulate the little community at Saint Rose's on its spirit of religious observance, and to encourage it in that holy practice, despite the difficulties which stood in the way. This was in 1816. No doubt the General's letter was in reply to one from Father Wilson, no longer extant, giving an outline of the life led by himself and confrères.[1]

Similarly, we have the letter (or rather extracts from it in an Italian rendition) from the provincial to Father Hill mentioned in the previous chapter. Although written on July 23, 1820, four years after the ordination of Bishop Miles, the document is pertinent to our subject just at this point, for it affords a picture of the circumstances under which he lived, studied, and was trained, whether intellectually or spiritually.[2] It is a detailed account of the daily community life at the convent, apart from the college, written to Father Hill in order to give him an idea as well of the needs of the little band of Friars Preacher as of the privations that he and some companions whom he expected to join him at Rome should be prepared to put up with on their arrival in Kentucky. In view of the scarcity of data, the communication is precious beyond estimate. For these reasons, in spite of its length, we translate the entire document back into its original language.

My dear Brother in Christ:—

I received your letter of August 13, [1819, ?] eleven months later. The present letter will serve as a commentary on another that I wrote to the Most Rev. Father General, in which I begged him for your speedy departure, and constituted you my procurator.[3] Please, therefore, let him see this letter also.

1 Father Pius J. Gaddi to Father Wilson, March 16, 1816 (Archives of Saint Rose's Priory.)

2 Propaganda Archives, America Centrale, (Vol. IV, No. 138).

3 We could not find this letter of Wilson at Rome.

We carry out community life to perfection. No one has a farthing in his own name; nor does anyone even think of having money here in a country where there are neither books nor any other desirable objects to purchase. We wear the tonsure just as you do at the Minerva. I enclose a sample of our clothes, habit, and so on. Since our principal concern is to live without the need of buying, we have all necessaries in our power; that is, food and clothing, except the secular dress for the missionaries. We have a blacksmith, a shoemaker, and a tailor; but we need a joiner and a mason for the mills, since the repairs on these and their maintenance amount to some two hundred dollars a year.

We also need lay brothers, not for heavy labor, but for the direction of our negroes, of whom there are twenty-seven.[4] These servants are very easily controlled and industrious. I place so much trust in them that I dismissed our overseer last fall, an action that, in the way of saving, gained us a fourth of the produce of the mills and farm. Indeed, as Americans have little idea of economy, a few lay brothers would be very useful, for they would about double our income [from the farm]. I hope to find one before long. Two or three others would not be too many.

There are twelve of us in the community. Of late we have met with some severe losses. Two of our wagon horses died,[5] and our grain crops failed for two years in succession. Moreover, like the other people in this part of the country, we have been obliged to sell on credit. In this way, we shall probably lose also the portion of the farm products which we did not consume, and which we sold on credit, for the past two years. The sum amounts to six hundred dollars. These things, however, should not dishearten you, nor prevent you from bringing along with you the religious of whom you have written to me, as well as some lay brothers; for we have considerably over four hundred acres of land, which, if cultivated a little more, will supply us all with the means of a decent maintenance.[6]

[4] This number must be a typographical error, for it seems that the institution *never* had so many colored servants.

[5] *"Due cavalli da carretta." Carretta* means either a cart or a carriage but it is almost certain that Saint Rose's had no carriage at this early date.

[6] The Italian rendition of Father Wilson's letter makes him say: "We have considerably over two thousand acres of land," which is a gross

So far Father Wilson's letter gives us, in addition to a literal confirmation of the tradition of the province, an edifying picture of the spirit of personal poverty and common life practised by those early Friars Preacher, than which one would hardly ask for a better proof of religious observance. It reveals the courage with which they bore privations, without laying claim to any superior merit therefor. As a matter of fact, it seems certain, the document rather tones down the hardships of the community than gives them in their full measure. From it we conclude that the produce brought in through the students in the college almost supplied the table with food and the community with material for making clothes, which left a surplus from the farm for sale, small and uncertain as were the profits thus realized.

Furthermore, the document affords a glimpse into the happier lot of our quondam enslaved Africans who belonged to Catholic institutions, where their bodily comforts were no less carefully looked after than their spiritual welfare.[7] Nor should we overlook the length

exaggeration undoubtedly due either to an oversight of the translator, or to Father Hill's well-known fertile imagination. The tone of his letter shows that Father Wilson was speaking only of the Saint Rose farm, which originally had four hundred and fifty acres, and there is no record of more having been purchased prior to this time. Hence our re-translation of "considerably over four hundred acres of land." Jacob Dittoe, it is true, had lately given Father Fenwick three hundred and twenty acres of forest land in Perry County, Ohio, for an establishment there. Besides, the community of Saint Rose had purchased twelve hundred acres of similar land in Union County, Kentucky, of which we shall speak later. The intention was to establish a college in Western Kentucky, but Bishop Flaget objected. As matters stood at this time, the fathers were heavily in debt for this property, and were holding on to it in the hope that they might sell it for something like what it cost, and use the proceeds for a plantation near Cincinnati.

[7] For a sample of the love which the old-time colored servants of Saint

of time it took Father Hill's letter to reach its destination. The slow mails of that day rendered the life of religious communities all the more difficult, because they impeded communication with the higher authorities abroad.

Father Wilson insisted, as long as he lived, on the tonsure being worn by the novices and those whose duties kept them at the college and convent. But, tradition tells us, his successor, Father Tuite, for reasons of health, and because he did not think it productive of good in a non-Catholic country, had the practice discontinued, about 1824 or 1825. Besides, the priests on the missions could not go tonsured into the places where they were often obliged to travel. Why then should it be worn by any? However, the kindly man is said to have incurred the displeasure of Bishop Flaget by this action, for he felt that it was a relaxation of discipline, albeit the tonsure had not been worn anywhere else in the United States.

You can therefore invite them [continues Father Wilson] to an abundance of pork, bacon, cabbage, turnips, and somewhat indifferent potatoes. They will also often have chicken, duck, goose, and turkey. From September until Christmas we have fresh meat [pork] that is fairly good. All these things are from our farm. But you must let them know that they will meet with tastes that will hardly appeal to their palates, unless they are skilled in the culinary art; for the fowl here are a little insipid, which, I fancy, comes from a lack of vegetable salts in their food, the sea being at so great a distance from us. For this reason, we are obliged to give salt to hogs, sheep, cattle, and the like.

So you see we are not so badly off for the days on which meat is allowed.[8] We should be just as fortunate as you are in

Rose's entertained for the institution, see the writer's *An American Apostle* (or Life of Father M. A. O'Brien), p. 187.

8 The community ate meat at three meals a week; that is, for dinner on Sunday, Tuesday, and Thursday. But tradition tells us that, because

Europe, if our Americans knew anything about cooking. You will note the lack of such knowledge from their way of cooking fowl. Scarcely is a stranger arrived, when they send the negroes and dogs after the chickens. They take the first on which they lay hand, place an iron kettle on the fire, wring the heads off the chickens, thrust them into the kettle of boiling water while the flesh is still quivering, and leave them there until the feathers are ready to come off. Immediately the feathers are removed, the chickens are drawn and put into a slowly boiling pot. Finally, they are laid, together with some bacon, in a basting-pan until they are browned. Then they certainly have a musty odor and a distasteful flavor.

We are very unfortunate as regards vegetables. It seems that but few of the seeds of England and Flanders are suitable or adapted to this warm climate, for they grow too fast. Generally speaking, I can not do better than liken our bread to that which you yourself made the first time you attempted to make bread at Bornheim.[9] Our water is hard or a bit limy, often muddy, and in the summer time not very fresh. In many things, it is true, we might better our condition; but we have so much to do that, without lay brothers and a little more money with which to provide accommodations, our lot must remain a trifle cruel. Thus it is not altogether out of love, but also somewhat out of personal interest, that we are so anxious to see you and your companions.

It will be especially on the days of abstinence that the Europeans will experience their greatest difficulty.[10] We can not have a single mess of fish during the entire year, although a creek runs only a short distance from the house. While merely a dry furrow

of the work in the college, it was now and then given to some also on another day. Yet some one always abstained from meat even at these meals.

[9] Father Hill was a convert, and had been a married man and an officer in the British Army. After his retirement, at an early age, he went to live at Bornheim, Belgium. His house stood near the college of the English Dominicans, of whom he was an intimate friend. By mutual consent, and the approbation of the Holy See, he and his wife separated that he might become a priest. She went to live with a community of nuns in Belgium. See *Life of Bishop Fenwick, passim.*

[10] The days other than those mentioned in note 8 of this chapter were called days of abstinence.

in the summer time, it rushes along like a torrent in the winter. Instead of fish we use apple pie and other pastry. Salt mackerel is exceedingly scarce. A single one costs a quarter of a dollar.

When Europeans first arrive in America, they fancy that they can manage things better than those who were here before them. But they very soon discover that they are mistaken; because, for instance, if one knows how to make bread, he can not do it without being able to make the yeast also—and something more, even to the building of the oven. In case he can do all these things, he will be in good luck if he can find everything that he needs. For example, there is nothing here out of which to make yeast, except salt and sugar.

So remember the saying of poor old Decker: "Come to a beautiful country, where you will find an abundance of all things, provided you bring them with you." The same thing, it occurs to me, holds in regard to all the sciences. That is to say, you can make no progress, unless you know all their accessory branches.

I hope to be able, on your arrival, to regale you with a little home-made beer; for we have here a young Irishman, a professed novice, who makes it well.[11] Up to the present, our beverage has been miserable water tempered with a most wretched sort of spirits, which, if it be ever extracted from grain, has the strongest taste of smoking, or rather chewing tobacco.[12]

But we go on improving every day. So we tried to make some cider a few days ago. However, here again, as usual, we did not succeed. Our apples ripen too soon, and the iron vessels turn black. Accordingly, we had to give up the enterprise. Nevertheless we have four hundred later trees that are doing well. We haven't enough laborers to make cider or anything else in that line without infringing on the time for studies and other duties. In a word, you can form no idea of the great need we have of help.

I was about to forget Father Tuite's vineyard. It has fifty-five vines that yield an abundance of mediocre grapes. Hence we can have wine also, when you come, if you can show us how to make it. Note well, we have a clumsy old wine-press. The

11 This was either Brother James Thomas Polin, Brother Hyacinth McGrady, or Brother Thomas Martin, all of whom afterwards became noted priests.

12 Evidently Father Wilson knew little about tobacco.

wine for mass, which we never touch except at the altar—not even in case of sickness, costs five dollars a gallon, or for four bottles.

Doubtless the reader has not been able to repress a smile at some parts of Father Wilson's letter. Yet, on the whole, it gives an accurate picture of country life in Kentucky a hundred years ago. The same spirit of hospitality still prevails there, while the customs have changed little in many respects.

However, one is at liberty to disagree with the distinguished clergyman's prejudice against chicken cooked so soon after it is killed. Connoisseurs in delicacies of the table universally, not only praise the method of cooking chicken in the rural districts of the south, but even declare that nowhere else has it so exquisite a flavor. Almost the same scene as that described by the learned divine may be witnessed today by a traveller throughout the states below the Mason and Dixon Line, when he stops for a meal even at the humblest household. Indeed, a southern countryman cares little for chicken, unless it is prepared for the table soon after it has been killed. The bacon, when it is used, inproves stewed or basted chicken, while it receives a delicious flavor in return. Father Wilson evidently preferred the English custom of keeping meats until they are "good and ripe" before putting them into the oven.

One would hardly expect so much wit in such a serious student and busy man as the provincial. No doubt he used the amusing details in order to tone down the trials and privations of the community, lest Father Hill and his companions should be frightened, perhaps even swerved from their good intentions. Be that

as it may, the document shows a keen sense of humor which its writer employed with dexterity for their pleasure. For this reason, one is prepared to overlook a few inaccuracies and likely a little exaggeration, which, after all, may be due in part to a faulty Italian rendition of the original. Although it is not so stated, it was evidently the demands of the college that kept the brethren so occupied that they had little time to arrange conveniences for themselves.

Having given his friend an account of the convent's temporal affairs, Father Wilson proceeds to lay before him a more detailed recital of the religious and educational side of its life. The story reflects no little credit on the institution, especially if we consider the adverse circumstances against which it had to contend. It reveals, in fact, a genuine spirit of mortification, no less than an earnest effort at advancement as well intellectual as spiritual, in all of which, tradition assures us, Brother Pius Miles set a wholesome example. On this point the document says:

As for the disposition of our time, it is as follows. We are on our feet at four o'clock every morning, and make a half hour's meditation. There is silence until the conventual mass, which is said three hours later; that is, at seven o'clock. During that time we also say the little hours of prime, tierce, and sext. These are followed by a collation, when it is permitted; and it consists of warm milk just taken from the cow, for in the summer time the milk becomes sour very quickly. At times a little tea is allowed those who prefer it. We have the same for supper.[13] After the collation (that is, at eight o'clock), the bell is rung for silence,

13 We fancy that something was left out here in the Italian translation of Wilson's letter; for it seems certain that a morsel of bread must have been taken not only at supper, but also at breakfast. Doubtless, too, sorghum molasses (perhaps, at times a little butter) was used with the bread.

which continues until dinner. On the fast days of the Order we take this meal at eleven o'clock; and on those of the Church at twelve, or midday. The rest of the year we dine at one o'clock. We follow this rule in order to have the fresher part of the day for study.

We say none immediately before or immediately after dinner, according to the time prescribed for it. Before dinner we have a short meditation. From Trinity Sunday to the end of August we avail ourselves of the privilege of saying matins the previous evening, in accordance with the rubrics (§ 36). At this time vespers are said at three o'clock, P.M., and compline at four, followed by ten minutes' meditation. Silence from this time until six o'clock; then matins, supper, and recreation until the night prayers that we say at eight.

From the end of August to Trinity Sunday we say matins immediately after the morning meditation; that is, at four o'clock, A.M.; and vespers at four, P.M.; silence thence until six, when we have supper. This is followed by recreation until compline, said at seven. Compline finished, all retire for the night.

On feasts with simple octaves we say matins and lauds at midnight. On those of the Order, and the higher feasts, we sing compline, together with the Salve, and more or less of the whole office, according as our choir permits; for only one of our young men understands the chant well.[14] The singing is accompanied by the organ.

As we have no lay brothers, those who are not priests work in the garden or do some other kind of labor a part of the afternoon. This is a necessity, although it really interferes with their studies. Four lessons in theology [and philosophy] are given in the morning and one in the afternoon each week. The simple novices and postulants are assiduously drilled in Latin. A spiritual instruction is given them every day an hour before dinner. Thanks to the late Bishop Concanen, nearly all of whose library was left to us, we are not so badly supplied in the way of books. The most of our young men know French and Italian. However, we need Touron's works on the lives of the saints and illustrious men

[14] More feasts had simple octaves according to the Dominican rubrics at that time than are so honored today.

of our Order, some good books of controversy, and commentaries on the Scriptures.

On Sunday mornings we teach catechism and Christian doctrine from ten to eleven o'clock. Then comes solemn high mass, for which the community sings the *Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, and Agnus Dei.* In place of the *Alleluia* or the *Gradual,* a hymn is sung by some of the congregation in the gallery at the rear of the church, under the direction of an Italian who teaches them and accompanies the singing with a clarinet. A sermon is preached after the mass.[15]

We have a bell of French make for the church, but it is cracked. We have also some relics, but are in need of a pyx. That which we have is Roman and made of copper plated with silver. The silver has become perfectly black. The parish, which surrounds the convent, is composed of three hundred and ten families. Besides these, however, there are many young men who work here and there through the country. The families have an average of eight souls, and should pay an annual assessment of half a dollar for each person over ten years of age; but we can scarcely collect two hundred and fifty, or at the most three hundred dollars a year. Even this sum is paid in kind, and not in coin, whereby we lose a third of the value it would have were it given in money.

We should be perfectly content if the parish brought us even sufficient means to provide the horses and secular clothing necessary for the missionaries, which I fear will never be the case. None the less, we do not cease to perform gratis all religious functions, such as baptisms, marriages, and the like. The out missions bring us nothing. Now and then we get a dollar; but this by no means suffices to defray the expenses of them.[16] Our people here, while rich in lands and victuals, are poor in money. The taxes are of little moment. Ours amount to only four or five guineas a year.[17]

15 Evidently this Italian was a professor in the college. Father Miles, however, is said to have had charge of the choir as long as he remained at Saint Rose's.

16 At this time two Fathers were in Ohio, one in Scott County, Kentucky, and one in Lexington. They barely supported themselves, and contributed little or nothing to the upkeep of their convent; perhaps at times they were an expense.

17 According to some accounts that we have seen of that day this sum did not amount to more than twelve or fifteen dollars.

Conversions of Protestants are infrequent and somewhat long-drawn-out affairs. The reason of this is that there are only seventeen missionaries, eight of whom are members of our Order, for the states of Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, and Tennessee, a vast stretch of territory as large as all Europe. Even the bishop and his coadjutor are included in this number of priests.[18]

Our latitude is between the thirty-sixth and the thirty-seventh degrees. During the dry season it is very warm; but after the rains the weather is as moderate as in Flanders. The hot weather rarely begins before June, and it generally continues until September. Winter commences around Christmas. At times the cold is intense, especially from four until ten o'clock in the morning. The rest of the day is milder.

We need missals, breviaries, diurnals, a collectarium, a ceremonial of the Order, a martyrology, etc., etc., etc.

Father Thomas Wilson.

In spite of its length, one lays down the above document with a regret that the entire original could not be given, instead of extracts perhaps hurriedly made by the first translator who knew little or nothing about America. The letter reveals the broad, orderly mind and keen insight of an eye-witness to the things of which he wrote. Because of an inability to differentiate strictly between what would be and what would not be useful for the history of the Church in the United States, it is very probable that points of much impor-

[18] The translation of Father Wilson's letter makes him say that there were seventeen priests in the states mentioned; but it would seem that there were eighteen The Dominicans were Fathers S. T. Wilson, E. D. Fenwick, W. R. Tuite, R. P. Miles, S. L. Montgomery, W. T. Willett, S. H. Montgomery, and N. D. Young. The diocesan clergy, besides Bishops Flaget and David, were apparently the Reverend Charles Nerinckx, G. I. Chabrat, Anthony Ganilh, R. A. Abell, Charles Coomes (the first of that name), William Byrne, George A. Elder, and James Derigaud. A Rev. Peter Schaeffer had been ordained prior to this time, but he soon returned to Belgium because of ill health. Father Angier, O. P., had gone to Maryland for the same reason. Indiana seems to have been attended occasionally from Kentucky, the Rev. Anthony Blanc (later archbishop) having been called to New Orleans from Vincennes.

tance as well as of great interest were omitted in the Italian rendition which we have used. The whole document, as it now stands, forms but one paragraph; and there are other signs that it gives us only a summary of Wilson's real letter, with merely the points that appealed to the translator's ideas. Possibly it is in this way that we are to explain the failure to mention Saint Thomas' College run in connection with the convent.[19]

It was wise in Father Wilson to forewarn the prospective recruits to the province from abroad of what they should expect in the wilderness of Kentucky. That he gave them a true picture of the strict religious life that prevailed there is evidenced by a letter of Father Hill himself. Shortly after his arrival from the Convent of the Minerva, the residence of the Order's General and its historic House of Studies in Rome, he assures a friend in England that the diet of the little community is indeed "very plain", and its life quite "sufficiently severe." That the members enjoyed good health he seems to attribute to the providence

[19] There are partial Italian renditions of two other letters of Wilson and one of Fenwick to Hill (also a similar French rendition of Fenwick's and one of Wilson's) in this same year (1820), and a petition of Hill to the cardinal prefect of the Propaganda in the archives of that sacred congregation in conjunction with that which we have translated. Father Hill was a brilliant and learned man, an eloquent preacher, a good priest, and a zealous missionary; but he lacked judgment. He never succeeded in getting all the old leaven out of himself, while he retained too much of the military spirit to be placed at the head of things. He was also something of a dreamer. Unfortunately he won the confidence of Fathers Fenwick and Wilson, which caused the latter to appoint him his representative at Rome. At once he entered on the chimerical scheme of uniting the English and American provinces, which caused some unnecessary hard feelings. Some years ago, we had a talk with the late historian of the English Province, Father Raymund Palmer, on this subject; not without reason he was very positive in his censure of Father Hill.

of God who "tempers the wind to the shorn lamb."[20]

History combines with tradition, so strong and direct that it impels conviction, to fill out the story. It is known that wheaten bread was a luxury not often indulged in by the settlers of Kentucky. Pork and bread made of maize were their mainstay of life. Because they ate the former at only three or four meals a week, the fathers depended principally on the latter.[21] Fortunately it could be prepared in a variety of ways, from which we have the names "corn bread", "hoe-cake", "corn pone", "Johnny-cake", "corn dodger", "sweet pone", "corn-cake", and so on. However prepared, it was not unwholesome; neither was it unsavory on the rather rare occasions, when butter could be used with it. At other times omnipresent sorghum molasses made at the home served to render this common staple more acceptable to the palate. Ordinarily necessity required the use of lard in its preparation.

The best of all that the community could command went to the tables of the growing youths in the college. In fact, not infrequently the money that came from the wealthier boys was used to help the poorer. While nothing could be too good for their young charges, the fathers, novices, and postulants were content with the bare necessaries of life.

Father Wilson himself tells us, early in his letter, that all his brethren's clothes were made at home, with the exception of the better secular suits for the missionaries. These outfits, however, were reserved for distant journeys and special occasions. Nobody,

[20] Letter dated November 21, 1821(London *Catholic Miscellany,* I, 327-328.)

[21] See note 8 of this chapter.

unless he was almost continually engaged in apostolic work at a distance, had such a suit specially for himself. One was used by several men of about the same size, for in those days a little misfit caused no comment. The secular dress ordinarily worn by the priests for work in the parish and on the adjacent missions was made of jeans.

Indeed, the wearing apparel of the community was not merely home-made; it was also home-spun and home-woven. Although they have now disappeared, the writer has often seen around the convent relics of the old-time wool-carder, spinning-wheel, loom, and other appliances for making cloth. Its colored servants were especially valuable because of this sort of work, for the price of more delicate stuffs was prohibitive to the institution's slender means.

At that time the world had not so much as dreamed of the modern utilities for which electricity is now employed. Perhaps nowhere in Kentucky was gas used for lighting purposes. Of kerosene or other oil lamps there were few, if any, in the state. The first artificial light for reading and study at Saint Rose's was furnished by grease from pork. It was poured into a shallow metal vessel of the shape and about the size of a pie-pan, with a ring-like handle on one side that it might be carried in safety, and a mouth or slight depression on the other. A strip of cloth, preferably woolen, soaked in grease lay in the pan, with one end projecting a little over the rim at the mouth. This was the wick. Another vessel for the same purpose (in which the same material was used, and which probably came into service somewhat later) looked not unlike a cheap incense-boat, or an alchemist's

lamp. Candles, though used on the altars, and probably in the choir for the recitation of the divine office, did not come into general vogue at the institution until after the subject of our narrative had been sent to other fields of labor.[22]

Father Wilson passed over such items as the above when writing to his friend, for they were common to every household in that heroic era of brave men in the new west. But the reader, we venture to believe, has not passed over the kindly way in which Father Wilson speaks of the people and palliates their failure to assist his community, when he might have indulged in some censure—perhaps justly, in view of the modest sum asked of them for the support of their pastors, and the fact that the college was for the education of their children.

This trait, however, was characteristic of those early Friars Preacher, and especially of Fathers Fenwick and Tuite. We have in it a fact that speaks volumes in their praise, no less than indicates that they were of the kind that shrink from no drudgery for the good of souls. During the period of his education, the Father of the Church in Tennessee drank deeply of this spirit, which caused it to guide him through all his apostolic days.

The course of philosophy and theology in the Order of Saint Dominic is long and profound. At the time of which we speak, owing to the circumstances with which the reader is now familiar, that given in Saint Joseph's Province could not be carried out to the full length. Nevertheless it was thorough and painstaking.

22 Even within recent years numbers of these out-of-date vessels, molds for candles, and old-fashion candle-sticks might be seen on the premises.

As the grease lamps were not conducive to study after dark, the community probably burned little midnight oil. Early to bed and early to rise was the rule. Even the literati of that period worked by day. Hence, perhaps, the reason why it used to be said of the brethren at Saint Rose's that "the sun never caught them in bed."

Since time was precious and occupations many, Brother Pius Miles and his companions, unless otherwise occupied, were rarely seen without a book or their notes in hand. In this way, they were ready for ordination after six years in their higher studies; that is, at the end of the second semester of 1815-1816. We can rest assured that none of them, either during their studies or in the retreat that immediately preceded it, prepared for this important event in their lives with greater care or more earnestness than Brother Pius. In view of his serious character, one can not doubt but that it dominated his thoughts from the time he finished his novitiate.

This ordination deserves special notice in the Catholic history of Kentucky for various reasons. Never before had so many been ordained at one time in the state. The four (Miles, Willett, and the two Montgomerys) were the first priests wholly prepared in the west for the ministry. One of them, Father Willett, was Kentucky's first native son to attain the priesthood; while another, the subject of our sketch, was the first clergyman entirely educated west of the Alleghany Mountains who became a bishop.

Yet, strange to say, no contemporary record of the event can now be found. Perhaps stranger still is it that Bishop Spalding, although he followed the diary

of Bishop Flaget when writing the life of that pious prelate, should not have noted the ordination as priest of one of his own most intimate episcopal friends.[23] However, the year 1816 is always given as that in which he was ordained. Sometimes it is stated that it was in the month of September; and this is the tradition of the province. Mr. Francis X. Reuss, who spent years in serious investigation for his valuable little book, places the event on ember Saturday in September of the above year, which appears very likely, in view of the fact that this is one of the canonical times for ordination, and would make it occur on September 21, 1816.[24] In fact, we have seen this precise date given for the bishop's ordination, but we could not find on what authority it was stated.

Whatever the date, saintly Bishop Flaget made him an ambassador of Christ. The ceremony, it has come down to us by a tradition that seems unquestionable, took place in Saint Rose's Church, and aroused so much pious curiosity that the sacred edifice could scarcely hold all who went to witness it. Quite naturally the people of that parish were the most keenly interested, for the Dominicans were the pastors of their souls, while Willett and the two Montgomerys were members of it. To the writer's personal knowledge, the occasion

[23] In the preface to his *Life of Bishop Flaget* Spalding tells us that this prelate kept a diary from 1812 to 1834. This record the learned divine used extensively for the above volume. Chapter VI (pp. 115-147) covers the years 1814-1816, but it makes no mention of Bishop Miles' ordination; although his *Early Catholic Missions* places it in 1816. Only the first volume of the Flaget diary is now known to exist. The writer discovered it in the former seminary, at Preston Park, Louisville. It is now at Notre Dame University. Throughout it the bishop notes his actions day by day.

[24] *Biographical Cyclopedia of the Catholic Hierarchy in the United States*, p. 75.

was long remembered and formed a frequent topic of conversation. It could hardly have been otherwise; for this was the first ordination of Dominican priests in the United States, and accordingly marked an epoch not only in the history of the new American province of Friars Preacher, but also in that of the first parish which it took under its charge.[25]

Piety characterized the religious life of Saint Rose's. It dwelt deep in the heart, though it was not the kind which sometimes sits gracefully on the face. This spirit, there is every reason to believe, combined with Brother Pius' native disposition to cause his ordination to make a profound impression on him. Thoroughly did he realize that he was now an anointed of the Lord,

25 In times past all the old people of Saint Rose's Parish used to speak about the ordination of Bishop Miles, Father Willett and the two Montgomerys having taken place in the church there. The tradition is still universal both there and in the province.

Father Howlett (*St. Thomas' Seminary,* p. 58) says that the two Montgomerys were ordained in St. Thomas' Church, Poplar Neck. But this statement can not be correct, unless Miles and Willett were also ordained there, which is highly improbable. Spalding, quoting Bishop David (in *Early Catholic Missions,* p. 224), simply says that three ordinations had taken place in the Poplar Neck church by November, 1817. Two of these ordinations were those of the Revs. Peter Schaeffer and James Derigaud; the other seems to have been that of Father Anthony Ganilh.

It does not seem at all probable, even were there no tradition to the contrary, that Bishop Flaget would insist, or consent, that the four young candidates to the priesthood should be taken to a smaller church for an event so notable at that time; or that they should be ordained any where except in a church of the Order, they being its first fruits in the country. There was all the more reason for ordaining them at Saint Rose's, if, as seems to have been the case, the new Saint Thomas' was under construction and not yet ready for such a ceremony; for then the ordination would have had to be performed in the old log-cabin of a church. As a matter of fact, Father Derigaud, who was raised to the priesthood in January, 1817, is supposed to have been the first man ordained in the new Saint Thomas'. Reuss (*op. cit.,* p. 75) says that the bishop was ordained at Saint Rose's by Doctor Flaget.

and consecrated to the work of saving souls, no less than bound to a life of evangelical perfection. How faithfully he fulfilled this vocation we hope to reveal in the course of these pages.

Of the earthly joys brought the young priest by his ordination the principal must have been the happiness which he saw that it gave his venerable parents to realize that they would leave on earth a son who would intercede for them at God's altar. Doubtless they were present on the occasion, and among the most interested of the spectators. The mother was then sixty-eight years of age. The father's seventy-seven years told him that his life's journey could not be far from its end. That on which their youngest child became a messenger of Christ, and that on which he offered up his first mass in their presence, were possibly the happiest days of two long, exemplary Catholic lives.

Tennyson, if we mistake not, wrote:

"And lay thine uphill shoulder to the wheel,
And climb the Mount of Blessing."

This Father Miles, for thus he now became known, had bravely done. The way was far from smooth, it is true; but with courage had he followed the light which beckoned him on. Blissful, therefore, was he in the thought that at last he could begin the work of an ambassador of Christ.

CHAPTER VII

EARLY PRIESTHOOD

THE College of Saint Thomas, attached to the Convent of Saint Rose, in Kentucky, seems to have attained the zenith of its glory and numbers about the time of which we have now to speak. Although he himself had been a student all the while, tradition at least tells us that Brother Pius Miles had played no little part in its notable success. The financial condition of Kentucky and the west had perhaps never been so good as it was at this juncture. Thus, with the addition of the four young priests, Fathers Miles, Willett, and the two Montgomerys, the future of the pioneer college promised well.

Unfortunately for it, however, Father Robert A. Angier had been obliged to relinquish the care of the missions in the northern part of Kentucky. Accustomed to community life and educational work abroad, the stress of his missionary efforts and lonely existence in the wilds of the new west gradually undermined his health, both physical and mental. This was in 1815.[1]

[1] Father Wilson to the superior of the Jesuit Fathers in Maryland, May 5, 1816 (Archives of the New York-Maryland Province of the Society of Jesus, Case 205, Z 17); extracts from letter of same to Rev. John Hill, in Rome, September 11, 1820 (Propaganda Archives, America Centrale, No. 138); Father Fenwick to Jacob Dittoe, in Ohio, April 20, 1816 (Archives of Saint Joseph's Priory); SPALDING, *Early Catholic Missions,* and *Life of Flaget;* WEBB, *Centenary of Catholicity,* and O'DANIEL, *Life of Fenwick—passim.*

In his letter to Hill, if the document is correctly rendered, Wilson

Father Fenwick then combined this charge, as best he could, with that of his apostolate in Ohio. But now it became necessary for him to give all his time to the Catholics of the latter state, the needs of whose growing Church demanded his constant attention. Out of the goodness of his heart, therefore, Father Wilson sent Father Samuel L. Montgomery to replace Father Angier at Saint Francis', Scott County, and other missions in northern Kentucky.[2]

Meanwhile, the faithful had greatly increased in that part of the Diocese of Bardstown. They lived in widely separated localities, between which the roads were often almost impassable. Accordingly, Father Willett, who had become a prey to pulmonary consumption, was soon sent to the aid of Father Montgomery, and stationed at Lexington, whose growing congregation had erected a church and rectory. His superiors hoped

is positively uncharitable, even unjust to Angier. However, the communication was confidential; but Hill honored the trust reposed in him by giving the Propaganda a translation of the document. The letter itself shows that Father Angier had been a complete nervous wreck, and that this condition was brought on by overwork and the loneliness of his life—to which we may add the troublesome character of a part of his congregations. In 1816, Father Wilson sent him to Maryland in the hope that his health might be restored. There he took charge of several missions, on which he labored faithfully and fruitfully for over eight years. In the report of his diocese to the Propaganda (1818) Archbishop Maréchal says that he has three English priests, and that he would to God that he had more like them. One of these clergymen was Father Angier. In 1825, he went to England. Father Edward I. Devitt, S. J., (*Records of the A. C. H. S.* of Philadelphia, XXII, 241) says he undertook the journey in order to obtain help for his poor missions. Doubtless his English brethren persuaded him to remain in his original province, for he did not return to America. There he was a Preacher General, received other honors, and labored on for nearly a quarter of a century longer. He died on December 20, 1850, in Antwerp, where he was chaplain of the Alexian Brothers.

[2] *Early Catholic Missions, Life of Flaget, Centenary of Catholicity* and *Life of Fenwick, passim.*

that the outdoor life imposed by such a pastoral charge, for attendance on the scattered missions would keep him in the open air a great part of the time, might not only prolong the life of the zealous and talented young clergyman, but even so restore his health that he could realize the promise of his student days.[3]

Perhaps even before Father Willett's departure from Saint Rose's, a similar response to the call of charity towards souls had deprived the west's first Catholic educational institution of another of its useful members. Father Fenwick was overpowered in Ohio by labors no less trying than multifarious. He could not attend to all the needs of the faithful. The loneliness of his life was even greater than had been that of Father Badin's in Kentucky some years earlier. In this dilemma he applied for assistance from his brethren. Father Nicholas D. Young, therefore, ordained on December 18, 1817, was at once sent to the aid of his reverend and revered uncle.[4]

For these reasons, of the first five priests trained at Saint Rose's only Fathers Richard Miles and Stephen H. Montgomery remained to help with the college, the parish attached to the convent, and its adjacent missions. Thus the ordination made little change in the life of the subject of our narrative other than the standing it gave him, a substitution of ministerial labors for his own class work under Fathers Wilson and Tuite, and the privilege of saying mass, the last of which he treasured more than words can express. The added dignity did not lessen his humility or his spirit of obedience; but it deepened his piety, and quickened his zeal—a true sign of a real man of God.

[3] See note 2 of this chapter. [4] *Life of Fenwick, passim.*

Active, industrious, and spiritual, endowed with a good mind that had been well trained, and possessed of splendid judgment, it was but natural that he should have been one of the mainstays of Saint Thomas' College even before his ordination. Now, as a priest, he became still more useful in that capacity. The institution had no better disciplinarian. Following the custom of those days, for it was necessary, he taught several branches in the college. In addition to this, he helped with the education of the candidates for the priesthood. The students not only admired him; they loved him, whether as professor or confessor. Their parents, whether Catholics or non-Catholics, esteemed him; nay, they placed implicit confidence in his advice. Father Miles' name was on every lip, and his assistance was sought in every emergency.

Neither the regard that he commanded, nor the trust reposed in him was undeserved. Forthright and frank, somewhat reserved, yet open and affable, he ever gave the impression: There is a man whom I should like to have for a friend—a person of genuine worth in whose hands one would be safe. With a mild, quiet strength of character and firmness of principle he combined a whole-souled, kindly, and generous disposition, which, when he was once understood, won and held the heart. Never was he known to deceive, or to betray the faith placed in him, or intentionally either to hurt the feelings or injure the reputation of even an adversary.[5]

Doubtless it was these sterling qualities that so endeared the future bishop of Tennessee to Father Wilson; for it has been handed down to us that perhaps

[5] Frequent echoes of the praises that the old people used to heap upon Father Miles are still heard in central Kentucky.

there was no other person (not even excepting Father Fenwick) in whom the provincial placed such unlimited confidence, or to whom he entrusted so many of his confidential and important affairs. A true priest would hardly ambition a higher encomium from his superior. In this case, coming as it did from a man of Father Wilson's learning, judgment, and character, it bespeaks a splendid tribute to great merit.

Father Miles was an all-round man, useful in whatever kind of labor his superiors employed him. Yet perhaps in no place did he prove more valuable than in the college. Indeed, his long and intimate connection with that institution, no less than the distinguished services that he rendered it, calls for a further word on Saint Thomas' College. Unfortunately, thanks to the fault for which the Friars Preacher have been so often censured by historians the world over, that of not keeping records of their own work (which is about the only sphere of labor in which they have lagged), it is now impossible to do the subject the justice that it deserves. Because of the same carelessness as regards personal glory, even by far the greater part of the accounts which must have been written of matters pertaining to the former Saint Thomas' are irrevocably lost.

However, this handicap is partially offset by another source of information which appears more creditable than lore ordinarily obtained in this way. In the country, villages, and small towns, because of the greater leisure of the people and the fewer distractions that engross their minds, traditions are not only kept longer but also more faithfully than in the busy marts of commerce and industry. The more intelligent the people,

the more trustworthy the knowledge thus preserved.

Possibly nowhere in the world have the early traditions of their Church been more keenly treasured or better retained than by the Catholics of Kentucky, which still remains largely agricultural; and they are decidedly intelligent—many of them educated. This is perhaps especially true of the neighborhood around Saint Rose's, which is in the very heart of the state and in the center of the first Catholic settlements. There has been practically no immigration into that part of Kentucky since Saint Thomas' College got well under way. Thus the traditions concerning this college have been handed down from generation to generation with almost incredible uniformity. Their trustworthiness is further substantiated by the few documents that still remain, and by the traditions of Saint Joseph's Province of Friars Preacher. It is in this way that we know for certain that the college prospered, in point of numbers, from the very beginning.[6]

Whatever the source of information, be it ever so meager, it assures us of the above fact, as well as tells us that the institution was held in the highest regard, that students came to it from far and near, and that perhaps no college in the land at that day had a more respectable curriculum. All this is the more credible in that the founders of Saint Thomas' were expert and experienced educators, men who had aided in bringing Holy Cross College, Bornheim, Belgium, to the zenith of its renown.[7] Doubtless it was a continued growth in the number of pupils, together with the annoyances

[6] The stranger visiting the rural portions of Kentucky inhabited by Catholics can not but be struck by the vividness of their traditions. One might say that the people almost live on them.

[7] PALMER, *Life of Cardinal Howard, passim; Life of Fenwick, passim.*

and inconveniences inseparable from the attendance of day-scholars at boarding schools, and the increased expenses, that explains the following entry in an old account book chiefly devoted to the college.

1815

F. [ather] T. [homas] Wilson, at Easter, reassumed the care of the College. The pension was raised from seventy-five Dollars to one hundred and twenty-five. Agreed to admit no more externs, and to dismiss the present ones as soon as their term is out.[8]

Temporary illness, it seems, had obliged Father Wilson to entrust the charge of Saint Thomas' into other hands for a while. It is said, in fact, that for a time serious fears were entertained lest his sickness should prove fatal. Tradition informs us that the resolution to exclude day-pupils aroused a veritable storm in the town of Springfield and through Washington and Marion counties; and that the furore caused it to be cancelled.[9] It would seem also that a like opposition to the advancement of the board and tuition bill from seventy-five to one hundred and twenty-five dollars a year resulted in a compromise on one hundred. Although it would be ridiculous to attempt to run a boarding school on such terms in our day, it should not be forgotten that a century ago a hundred dollars represented a sum of no small consideration.

Another record of interest appears shortly before the date of the bishop's ordination, which reads: "Jefferson Davis arrived July 10, 1816."[10] The president-to-be of the ill-fated Confederate States of the South,

8 Page 16.

9 What is now Marion County was then a part of Washington County. Many boys from the remoter parts of these counties are said to have boarded with their relations or friends, who lived nearer the college, during the school year, and to have attended as day pupils.

10 Page 47.

then a boy only eight years of age, had travelled on a pony all the way from the extreme southwestern county (Wilkinson) in the state of Mississippi.[11] Scarcely could one wish a better proof of the wide repute which Saint Thomas' College enjoyed. The distinguished statesman is said to have retained a strong affection for the place throughout his long and eventful career. Possibly it was, in part, this love that caused him, on one occasion when he met Father Matthew A. O'Brien, to kneel and ask the venerable priest's blessing.[12]

It was but natural that Mr. Davis' recollections should prove inexact in some particulars as regards that part of his life when dictating, at the age of seventy-nine or eighty years, the course of his early boyhood. In addition to his great age, one must consider the delicate state of his health at the time.[13] Besides, all his associations, environments, and activities tended to dim his reminiscences of the days he spent at Saint Thomas'. However, his experiences there will be best told by himself. They brought him into intimate contact with Nashville's first bishop, throw light on the times, and show that boys, even at that era of rigid discipline, were still boys, and occasionally indulged in innocent pranks. As quoted by his affectionate widow, Mrs. Varina (Howell) Davis, the story runs:

> My first tuition was in the usual log-cabin school-house; though in the summer, when I was seven [eight] years old, I was sent on horseback through what was then called "The Wilderness"—by

[11] *Jefferson Davis, Ex-President of the Confederate States of America* (By His Wife), p. 8.

[12] O'Daniel, *An American Apostle* (Life of Very Rev. Matthew O'Brien), p. 297.

[13] *Jefferson Davis* as in note 11 above, pp. 2-3.

the country of the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations—to Kentucky, and was placed in a Catholic institution then known as St. Thomas, in Washington County, near the town of Springfield.

In that day (1815) [1816] there were no steamboats, nor were there stage-coaches traversing the country. The river trade was conducted on flat- and keel-boats. The last named only could be taken up the river. Commerce between the Western States and the Lower Mississippi was confined to water-routes. The usual mode of travel was on horseback or afoot. Many persons who had gone down the river in flat-boats walked back through the wilderness of Kentucky, Ohio, and elsewhere. We passed many of these daily, on the road. . . .

The party with which I was sent to Kentucky consisted of Major [Thomas] Hinds, (who had charge of the famous battalion of Mississippi dragoons at the battle of New Orleans), his wife, his sister-in-law, a niece, a maid-servant, and his son Howell, who was near my own age, and like myself, mounted on a pony. A servant had a sumpter mule with some supplies, besides bed and blankets for camping out. The journey to Kentucky occupied several weeks.[14]

At this point of his narrative the venerable man tells of a halt at Nashville, where Major Hinds wished to visit his friend and former commander, General Andrew Jackson. In lieu of Mr. Davis' youthful impressions of this noted pioneer of Tennessee, for they have no bearing on our subject, we take occasion to note two slips in his memory. The records show that this journey was in 1816, instead of 1815; and that the young traveller was eight years of age, instead of seven, as stated in his story. Small matters these, it is true; yet it is well to correct them for the sake of historical accuracy.

In the same connection it is worthy of note that it is probable Major Hinds also brought his own son Howell to Kentucky in order to place him in Saint

[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 8-11.

Thomas' College, for we find the registry of a "Hynes" at almost the same time as that of Master Davis. The boy's first name is not given, but the similarity of the pronunciation of "Hinds" and "Hynes" might easily account for the error in spelling found in the records. This mistake could have been rendered the easier by the fact that there was already an Alfred Hynes in the school. Continuing his life story, the ex-president of the Confederacy says:

The Kentucky Catholic School, called St. Thomas' College, when I was there, was connected with a church. The priests were Dominicans. They held a large property; productive fields, slaves, flour-mills, flocks, and herds. As an association they were rich. Individually, they were vowed to poverty and self-abnegation. They were diligent in the care, both spiritual and material, of their parishioners' wants.

When I entered the school, a large majority of the boys belonged to the Roman Catholic Church. After a short time I was the only Protestant boy remaining, and also the smallest boy in the school. From whatever reason, the priests were particularly kind to me—Father Wallace, afterward Bishop of Nashville, treated me with the fondness of a near relative.

As the charge has been frequently made that it is the practice of the priests in all their schools to endeavor to proselyte the boys confided to them, I may mention an incident which is, in my case at least, a refutation [of the arraignment]. At that period of my life, I knew, as a theologian, little of the true creed of Christianity, and under the influences which surrounded me I thought it would be well that I should become a Catholic, and went to the venerable head of the establishment, Father Wilson, whom I found in his room partaking of his frugal meal, and stated to him my wish. He received me kindly, handed me a biscuit and a bit of cheese, and told me that for the present I had better take some Catholic food.

I was so small at this time that one of the good old priests had a little bed put up in his room for me. There was an organized revolt among the boys one day, and this priest was their

special objective point. They persuaded me to blow out the light which always burned in the room; so, after everything was quiet, I blew it out; then the insurgents poured in cabbages, squashes, biscuits, potatoes, and all kinds of missiles. As soon as the light could be lit, search was made for the culprits, but they were all sound asleep, and I was the only wakeful one.

The priests interrogated me severely, but I declared that I did not know much and would not tell that. The one who had especial care of me then took me to a little room in the highest story of the monastery and strapped me down to a kind of cot, which was arranged to facilitate the punishment of the boys; but the old man loved me dearly and hesitated before striking me a blow, the first I should have received since I had been with the monks. He pleaded with me: "If you tell me what you know, no matter how little, I will let you off." "Well", said I, "I know one thing. I know who blew out the light." The priest eagerly promised to let me off for that piece of information; and then I said: "I blew it out." Of course I was let off, but with a long talk which moved me to tears and prevented me from co-operating with the boys again in their schemes of mischief.[15]

These reminiscences of one of our most noted and single-minded statesmen, given out near the close of his life, demand little comment. They breathe a spirit not merely of respect, but likewise of affection for the former Kentucky college in which he had laid the foundations of his later education. The amusing incident which he recounts, and which has ever been typical of life at boarding schools, bears out the tradition as regards the kindly discipline that prevailed at Saint Thomas'. Perhaps it was somewhat out of the ordinary in that day when rigid corporal punishment was too often regarded as the best, if not the only, means of correction. The gentle system which prevailed at the institution in Kentucky is said to have borne excellent results. Doubtless, however, severe measures could be

[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 11-15.

employed when necessary, but they seem to have been the exception.

Father William R. Tuite was undoubtedly "the good old priest" placed in special charge of Master Davis, and with whom the boys conspired to have a little fun. It has been handed down to us that his kindly disposition at times led the boys to attempt tricks on him. However, he was a good professor. The youths loved him, and would do almost anything for him.

Like most outsiders, young Davis labored under the erroneous impression that the convent was wealthy. Similarly, tradition leads us to believe that he was deceived as regards the Catholic students so greatly outnumbering the non-Catholic, and as to his soon being the only non-Catholic at the school, unless this happened in the time of vacation, when nearly every one had gone home. Possibly the fact that all attended the religious exercises, which was required for the sake of discipline, led the youth to believe some to be Catholics who were not of the faith. Father Miles became bishop of Nashville. There was no Father Wallace at the convent. So it would seem that the venerable ex-president confused Father Willett's name with that of Wallace, and that he had been misinformed as to which one of his former professors attained the miter.

The records do not tell us when Master Davis left Saint Thomas' College; but he himself says that he was away from home for two years, from which we may conclude that he studied there from 1816 to 1818. Furthermore, he states that he had been sent to this distant school without his mother's knowledge or consent (for what reason we do not know); that she

became impatient for his return; and that her anxiety was the cause of his recall. Possibly, therefore, had not Mrs. Davis' discontent intervened, this distinguished statesman might have been numbered among the graduates of the first Catholic educational institution in the new west.[16]

Another tradition substantiated by the Davis recollections is that as long as he lived, the personal magnetism of pious and learned Father Wilson drew youth to him in trusting confidence as a magnet draws steel. Father Stephen Badin writes that the number of students at Saint Thomas' College soon exceeded a hundred.[17] The tradition of Saint Joseph's Province and Washington County, Kentucky, assures us that at one time there were more than two hundred pupils, certainly no ordinary enrollment for a boarding school at that period. This large number, we are convinced, must have been attained during the time that the former confederate chieftain was there, for obstacles of which we shall speak in the next chapter seem certainly to have lessened the attendance in later years.

Scanty and incomplete as are the extant records, they show names representative of not a few of the most respectable families in Kentucky, both Catholic and non-Catholic. Such, for instance, are the names: Baker, Bates, Boone, Bullock; Calhoun, Clark, Clay, Crughan; Durbin, Duval; Gough; Hagan, Hill, Hite, Hopkins;

16 *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16. The tradition is that, unlike her husband and illustrious son, Mrs. Davis was strongly biassed against things Catholic, and that this prejudice had its part in her discontent.

17 Photostat copy of an extract from his article "L'Etat de la Religion Catholique dans le Kentucky, et dans les Territoires Voisins" in *L'Ami de la Religion,* December 8, 1819. The extract is in the Propaganda Archives, America Centrale, Vol. IV, No. 56.

Janes, Jones, Joyce; Kelly, Kruggs; Lancaster, Love, Lucas; McElroy, Mackay, Manning, Maxey, Micken, Montgomery, Moore; Ormsby; Polin, Pope, Prather; Rowan; Sanders, Simms, Skidmore; Tarlton, Thomas, Tool, Toon; Worland. A few names suggest Ohio or even Maryland.

Louis and Henry Tarrascon were probably sons of John or Louis Tarrascon, early French millers of Louisville, Kentucky. The other French names (over twenty in number), it seems certain, were borne by young men and boys from Michigan, Louisiana or the vicinity of Saint Louis. Spanish youths, from Latin America, had not yet begun to come to the United States for their education.

In connection with James Boisleduc, whom tradition associates with New Orleans, the records reveal an incident that is at once full of interest and illustrative of the time. Like Jefferson Davis, he came all the way on horseback, arriving at the college on Sunday, August 13, 1815. Evidently his father had instructed him to dispose of his steed, and to use the proceeds in part payment for his education. It was sold at public auction. Possibly the animal looked its worse from the long journey; for it brought only twenty-five dollars and twenty-five cents, out of which the crier received one dollar for himself, and twenty-five cents for the state. Another French student, Julien De Pestre, who arrived just a month earlier, seems to have been fortunate enough to hire the use of his horse for the return journey of a young man who lived in the same part of the country as he, and was about to leave school.[18]

[18] Account Book, pp. 15, 16.

Tradition has it that a number of Saint Thomas' students attained no little distinction in their after life. Thus the Hon. James P. Bates, a state representative from Barren County for many years, is said to have been the James Bates whose name appears in the records. Similarly, David W. Maxey, the representative from Hart County in 1845, it is said, was the same Maxey noted in the records without his first name. John, William, and Minus Pope who went to school there, we are told, were sons of the Hon. John Pope, one of Kentucky's noted lawyers and statesmen, in the state legislature, a congressman and senator of the United States, long a resident of Washington County, and for six years governor of the Territory of Arkansas.

Stephen Ormsby, another of its students, is said to have been the son of the Hon. Stephen Ormsby, long a lawyer of note, a congressman, and a judge of the circuit court who commanded the highest respect of all with whom he had to deal. Mr. Webb claims that the Hon. John Rowan, Jr., son of one of Kentucky's most illustrious lawyers and judges, studied at Saint Joseph's College, Bardstown.[19] But the tradition around Saint Rose's has ever been that he was a student of the former Saint Thomas' College attached to that institution. Certainly the name of Rowan appears in its books, though without the student's first name; and the date given by Webb (1823 at the earliest) seems too late for John Rowan's school days. The Green Clay who studied at Saint Thomas', there appears to be no doubt, was the son of doughty General Green Clay, one of the noted pioneers of Kentucky.[20]

19 *Centenary of Catholicity*, p. 281.

20 None of the students mentioned in the last three paragraphs seem to have been Catholics.

Elisha J. Durbin became a priest of the Diocese of Louisville, and was one of its most faithful and efficient missionaries. Thomas J. Polin and James V. Bullock entered the Order of Saint Dominic, as members of which they rendered conspicuous services to the Church —the first in Kentucky, and the latter in various parts of the country.[21]

The above were all boarding scholars; those whom we now mention were most likely day pupils, for they lived in Washington County, in the vicinity of the college, whence few boarders were obtained. Richard Rudd, a brother of the Christopher A. Rudd spoken of in a previous chapter, served in our last war with England, settled in Bardstown, was one of Nelson County's most highly respected citizens, and represented his district in the state congress for four terms. Captain James Rudd, another brother, moved to Louisville, where he was no less a pillar of the Church than a leader in civic affairs. He held many offices in the city and was its state's congressman three times.[22]

Robert C. Palmer became a physician who enjoyed a wide reputation, and served in the state senate for seven years. Doctor Palmer was not a Catholic. A

[21] Father Durbin had been a parishioner of Father Angier in northern Kentucky. Tradition tells us that he went to Saint Thomas' College with the intention of becoming a Dominican, and that he was actually a postulant. Doubtless his love for Father Angier drew him thither. Later, however, he changed his mind, went to the seminary and became a priest of the diocese. He retained his love for the Order as long as he lived. He was especially fond of Father Angier, whose praises he sang until the end of his long life. See Webb's *Centenary of Catholicity*, pp. 92, 364.

[22] In his *Centenary of Catholicity*, pp. 79, 303, 304, Webb speaks of these Rudds in terms of praise, but he does not state that they went to Saint Thomas' College. Although their names do not appear on any record (in fact, we have found no record of any day pupil), the tradition about them being students of St. Thomas' is too strong, direct and persistent to be at all doubted. The same remark applies to all those mentioned here as day-scholars. With two exceptions, they were surely Catholics.

man of exceptional character, and having a wide practice, he was beloved in Washington and the adjacent counties. William Osbourn represented the same county as its congressman in the thirties. William T. Hamilton, the writer's grandfather, was elected to a similar position from Marion County in 1849, serving one term. Like Doctor Palmer, James P. Barbour, a state representative in 1841, was not a Catholic.

Benjamin and Richard Wathen, after they graduated in medicine, settled in Breckinridge County. An honor alike to the profession they followed, and to the religion they professed, it is no matter for surprise that they enjoyed not only the good-will but also the high esteem of all, whatever their walk in life or their creed. Webb says of them: "Among the Catholics of the county [that is, Breckenridge], especially, there should be none to forget how much they did for religion in their day that has not yet ceased to reflect benefits on the living. . . . Their Catholic zeal was proverbial, and in no emergency were they ever known to respond ungenerously."[23]

Passing over others of perhaps lesser renown, we may now mention Judge Charles C. Kelly of Springfield, one of Kentucky's legal lights. He held important positions; yet he was not less faithful to his religion because of his profession or busy life. It is worthy of note, in this connection, that in the state constitutional convention of 1849, Garrett Davis, prominent in the "Native American" movement, later a leading spirit in the "Knowing-Nothing" party, ever an adversary of the Catholic Church, introduced an amendment to the constitution of the state that would have deprived Cath-

[23] *Centenary of Catholicity,* pp. 154-155.

olics of their civil rights. Strange as it may seem today, the proposed change was not defeated without considerable difficulty, and after much heated controversy. Among its most effective opponents were Judge Kelly and Captain James Rudd who were members of the convention. Thus two former students of Saint Thomas' College had a prominent part in frustrating the legalization of one of the most tyrannical acts ever attempted against the Church in the United States.[24]

Nearly all the men mentioned in the foregoing pages had entered the college before Bishop Miles was ordained. Some of them had perhaps left it and begun their life's work. But he took a generous share in their education, whereby he contributed not only towards the advancement of the state, but also the betterment of society, as well as helped to break down religious prejudices against the Church and to broaden her sphere of influence through men, albeit not her members, stationed in different parts of the country,

24 See WEBB, *op. cit.*, p. 304, and COLLINS, *History of Kentucky*, II, 82. Ignatius Spalding of Union County also took a prominent part in the defeat of the Davis proposal. There is a tradition that Spalding was educated at St. Thomas', but we did not include him in the list, for it could not be so well substantiated. However, he was an educated man, and there was no other Catholic school at the time from which he could have received his education.

Christopher or Richard Rudd, if not both of them (for both were in the senate at the time), took an active part in the debate for the incorporation of Loretto and Nazareth Academies. So did Doctor Richard Forest, who is also said to have been an alumnus of Saint Thomas'. (See *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, IV, 557 ff; and COLLINS, *op. cit.*, II, 749). Another noted man who, it has been persistently handed down to us, was a student at this Dominican college was the Rev. James M. Lancaster of Kentucky; and the tradition seems to be supported by a letter of Bishop Miles, in which he tells Archbishop Eccleston that he had known Father Lancaster from his childhood. (See note 34 of Chapter XVIII).

acquainted with her teaching and her spirit. The same occupation continued to demand most of his time at the period of which this chapter speaks. However, it was by no means his only work.

We remember one or two letters of Bishop Flaget prior to this time, in which he says that only Father John B. David, rector of the diocesan seminary, and Father Samuel T. Wilson, provincial of the Dominicans and president of Saint Thomas' College, could claim the privilege of remaining at home on Sundays. The rest of the clergy had to play the part of missionaries, which took them out for the days on which the faithful were obliged to hear mass. This statement confirms the old tradition that Father Tuite, even though master of novices, went to Danville or some other place practically every Sunday. Father Wilson looked after the large congregation at Saint Rose's, just as Father David took care of that at Poplar Neck, where the seminary was situated.[25]

Things had changed little since that time, for the increase of the clergy had not kept pace with that of the Catholics, ever all too scantily provided with spiritual shepherds for their souls. Thus Father Miles had many missionary labors in addition to those connected with the college. Now that Father Tuite was growing old, he no doubt sought to lighten his burdens by taking his place as often as circumstances permitted. Doubt-

25 This seminary was also called Saint Thomas', which, we are sure, occasioned a few statements in Hon. Ben. Webb's *Centenary of Catholicity* anent the early education of Fathers Abell and Durbin that seem certainly to be erroneous. A very definite tradition in the province assures us that the fathers at Saint Rose's attended Danville from the time Bishop Flaget arrived in Kentucky until the death of Father Wilson; that Father Tuite gave up the place when he became superior; and that this action was the beginning of the misunderstanding of which we shall speak in another chapter. They resumed charge of the place years later, and continued it until 1865.

less, whenever possible, he went on the longer journeys in order that the older man might be less exposed to fatigue and the headaches to which he is said to have been subject.

Tradition assures us that the young priest soon acquired a reputation as a good confessor. White and black, young and old, the sinner as well as the devout found in him one who could wisely direct their souls and soothe their consciences. This repute, together with his prudence, kindness, patience, and open character, brought him crowds of penitents from near and far. Indeed, from the outset, Saint Rose's became a favorite place for confessions to which the people flocked from the surrounding parishes. It still remains such, largely because of the example set by Bishop Miles and his teachers. Possibly that not a few are today in the enjoyment of eternal bliss is due to his fidelity in this all-important part of a priest's vocation.[26]

While perhaps he could not be called an orator from the point of view of fervid flights of eloquence or rounded sentences—which, in fact, would neither be expected from nor suited to one of his character—Father Miles was soon considered a good speaker. He had a splendid voice; a clear, distinct pronunciation; a pleasant delivery; graceful gestures. His sermons were well prepared, instructive, solid and orderly; his language simple, the words so chosen as not to be over the heads of his audience. He was a man of fine phy-

[26] In the days of Bishop Miles' young priesthood Saint Rose's was one of the very few country places where mass was said every Sunday. Thither, on those Sundays on which there were no services in their own churches, the people flocked from the adjoining parishes for many miles around. This circumstance also brought the fathers almost innumerable confessions.

sique, full six feet in height, with an attractive countenance, a face at once strong and kindly. Traditions are still extant about how the people loved to hear him preach. They are no less distinct about him being an interesting conversationalist, the charm of whose personality was accentuated by his rich barytone voice and well-modulated cadences. It was a treat to hear him sing mass.

Even at this early period our Friar Preacher displayed a tact for dealing with non-Catholics, which ere long became one of the characteristics of his priestly ministrations. They esteemed him, as well as admired him, and went in numbers to hear him preach. He was unusually successful in making converts. However, we shall have occasion to touch on this topic time and again in the course of our pages; for, impressed with the lofty dignity of the ministry and his vocation of saving souls, he zealously devoted himself to this sublime work no less than to the spiritual advancement of those within the fold of the faith.

Two notable events in the Catholic history of Kentucky, with which the tradition of Saint Joseph's Province connects the subject of our narrative in a useful way, fall within the period covered by the present chapter. The one is the consecration of the first cathedral in the state; the other the first episcopal consecration west of the Alleghany Mountains. August 8, 1819, Bishop Flaget consecrated the Cathedral of Saint Joseph at Bardstown. Seven days later, the feast of the Assumption, he consecrated the Right Rev. John B. David his coadjutor in that sacred edifice. In the latter ceremony, it should not be omitted, the saintly prelate was assisted by Fathers

Charles Nerinckx and Wilson, O.P.[27]

Bishop David, an accomplished musician, not infrequently presided at the organ for high mass. But he could not well perform this office at the time the cathedral was consecrated, for he had to preach a sermon in explanation of the ceremonies. At his own consecration, of course, it was impossible for him to be the organist or to direct the choir. Accordingly, so tradition at least tells us, the services of Father Miles were sought and obtained in this capacity for both of these notable occasions. Doubtless he enhanced the music with his own superb voice, and thus contributed not a little to the solemnity of the events.

[27] This extraordinary favor was conferred on Fathers Nerinckx and Wilson because there was no bishop west of the Alleghany Mountains to be had for the ceremony. It was, of course, given them by virtue of the apostolic authority of the Pope.

CHAPTER VIII

LAST YEARS UNDER FATHER WILSON

ACCIDENT and fortune are often the circumstances that determine the course of events, whether in the lives of individuals or in the progress of a society. As the poet expresses the same idea:

> "All states have changes hurried with the swings
> Of chance and time, still riding to and fro."[1]

Such was the situation of the little American province of Friars Preacher, of which Father Miles had now become a leading member, at the present period of his busy career. Much depended on the way in which the pendulum should swing.

The founders of Saint Joseph's Province had foreseen that the only way of guaranteeing a continuation of their labors in behalf of the Church in the new west was to begin with the establishment of a novitiate which would supply them with properly home-trained and educated priests. They saw slight prospects of getting a sufficient number of subjects, if even any, from abroad—and perhaps felt that those to the manner formed would be better suited for work in America. Father Fenwick's letters show that one of the dominant ideas in the founding of Saint Thomas' College was to obtain candidates for the Order and means for their support.

Bishop Flaget and Father John B. David must have

[1] QUARLES (Francis), *Emblems,* III, 1.

gone to Kentucky with similar ideas as regards the diocese, for both of them had had experience in teaching, as well as received their baptism of missionary labors. Wilson, we know, possessed the confidence and affection of the bishop. At least one of the early diocesan consultations was held at Saint Rose's. We have also seen several letters in which the holy prelate calls the learned Friar Preacher the shining light of his diocese.[2] Doubtless the scholarly divine advised a seminary, and perhaps a college also, as the one hope of success for the new diocese, for he was a single-minded man without guile.

However this may be, a seminary and college were soon uppermost in the bishop's thoughts. He wisely brought from France to Kentucky three or four candidates for the priesthood; and when he obtained possession of the historic farm left to the diocese by Thomas Howard, thither he tranferred his students from Father Badin's residence, and opened a seminary under Father David. The new institution he named Saint Thomas', in honor of the patron saint of the donor of the plantation. This was in the fall of 1811. From this date the saintly prelate anxiously looked forward to the time when he would be able to erect a cathedral in Bardstown, the episcopal seat, and to locate the seminary and start a college in its immediate vicinity.[3]

God gradually prospered these zealous designs. The cathedral was dedicated in the summer of 1819; the

2 "Fulgens lumen dioecesis meae," and "fulgens lumen in dioecese mea" are the expressions that he uses.

3 SPALDING, *Early Catholic Missions,* and *Life of Bishop Flaget;* WEBB, *op. cit.;* HOWLETT, *St. Thomas' Seminary*—all *passim.* It is sometimes said that the bishop took four seminarians with him to Kentucky; but letters published by Spalding in the works referred to incline us to believe that the number was three.

advanced seminarians took possession of their new quarters at its side some weeks later; the college opened early in 1820—all placed under the patronage of Saint Joseph. Before the close of the same year (1820), Father William Byrne started Saint Mary's College in what is now Marion County.[4] The college at Bardstown was eighteen miles northwest from that of Saint Thomas conducted by the Friars Preacher; Saint Mary's ten or eleven miles south of that of the Dominicans.

What is now to be recorded, we trust, will merit no adverse criticism. It not only falls within the sphere of our narrative, but is even demanded in order to round out the life-story of Nashville's first bishop, for he is said to have taken an active part in the affairs. We censure no one; defend no one. Perhaps, indeed, no one deserves censure, whilst no one needs defense. All were within their rights, as far as they went. Doubtless, too, all sought the greater glory of God, each striving to do his best in accordance with his own light.

A steady stream of tradition, distinctly borne out by two letters of Father Wilson,[5] tells us that the difficulty of three colleges being able effectively to operate in such close proximity, especially in a new and thinly settled state, was foreseen; and that Bishop Flaget wanted Father Wilson to convert Saint Thomas' into a mere preparatory school for the candidates of his Order, so that the two newer diocesan institutions might enjoy a larger patronage. The saintly prelate

4 SPALDING, *Life of Flaget,* pp. 211 ff; and *Early Missions,* pp. 265 ff.
5 Letters to Father Hill (in Rome), March 6 and September 11, 1820 (Propaganda Archives, America Centrale, Vol. IV, No. 138).

was emphatically an honest man, perhaps almost overzealous for that portion of his diocese which lay within the State of Kentucky. Far be it from us, therefore, even to suspect that in this matter he acted from any motive other than what he felt was for the broader good of religion. Still, it must be admitted, his request was one to which Wilson could not readily accede. Father Miles is said to have opposed it strenuously.

When the matter became public, the people of Union County, whence Saint Thomas' College had drawn a goodly number of students, offered to raise a subscription in order to help Wilson and his associates to purchase land and erect a similar institution there in lieu of Saint Thomas' College. Their generous offer was accepted, for it seemed a good way out of the difficulty, especially in view of the splendid soil in Union County, the wealth of its inhabitants, and its distance from the other two educational establishments. A fertile tract of twelve hundred acres was secured on Lost Creek, near Uniontown, and partially paid for by the people. To this plan, however, Bishop Flaget, acting, as Father Wilson believed, under the influence of Bishop David, refused to consent.[6] Thus the precipitous purchase, made no doubt in good faith as a happy solution of the dilemma, left matters *in statu quo.*

But Saint Rose's found itself burdened with a heavy debt; for the fathers felt that they were no less bound to refund the money contributed in Union

[6] Letters as in the preceding note. The original deed for this land (Recorder's Office, Frankfort, Kentucky) bears the date of September 13, 1819. It is from Joseph and William Trotter to (Rev.) Samuel L. Montgomery, who acted for Saint Rose's. Saint Mary's College had not been started at the time, but preparations for it were under way.

County for this purchase, than to raise that which still remained due on it. Meanwhile the pall of the financial crisis of 1819 and subsequent years fell upon the country. Banks failed right and left. Land and produce became almost valueless. The fathers were unable to collect the bills due to them for their educational work, whilst few could afford to send their sons to college.[7] Thus the number of students at Saint Thomas', as was but natural, declined to perhaps half of what it had been.

Here we may briefly interrupt our narrative in order to explain an assertion of Father Badin anent the Dominican college. Kentucky's apostle left the state in the spring of 1819, when the discussion about its being limited to a preparatory school for the Order must have been at its height. Doubtless he took it for granted that Father Wilson gave in to the wishes of his friend, Bishop Flaget. It is only in this light that we can understand the venerable missionary's statement in *L'Ami de la Religion et du Roi,* December 8, 1819, to the effect that Saint Thomas' had been closed, and that the fathers were confining their educational work to their novitiate. Certainly the assertion is erroneous.[8]

Meantime Bishop Flaget explained to Father Wil-

[7] Wilson's letters as in note 5 above.

[8] Father Badin says nothing about the cessation of the college in his *Origine et Progrès de la Mission du Kentucky,* published in Paris, in 1821; and a Latin postcript to the pamphlet (over the names of Fathers Wilson and Tuite clearly indicates that it was then in operation). Bishop Spalding (*Early Missions,* page 160) says that it closed in 1819 or 1820. He most likely followed Badin's first statement. A close scrutiny of Doctor Spalding's *Early Missions* and *Life of Bishop Flaget* shows that he was too busy a man to take the time necessary to look up dates. At least, he is often inexact in them. The whole drift of the present chapter shows that he was in error, when he says that the fathers closed Saint Thomas' because they found educational work incompatible with that of the missions.

son that he had opposed the Union County project because he had written to Rome asking that a Dominican be appointed bishop of Ohio, and that the missions of that promising state be placed in charge of the fathers. This information, together with prospects of recruits from abroad, turned all thoughts towards the north. Wilson determined, if at all possible, to retain the land near Uniontown until the return of good prices, so that the proceeds from it might be used in the purchase of a like property for the support of a college which they hoped to start in the vicinity of Cincinnati.[9] However, committed to the work of education which they loved, they maintained Saint Thomas' College in operation; and it continued to draw a fair quota of pupils, despite the hard times and its two younger competitors.

One is pleased to see that this difference of opinion did not disturb the amicable relations between Bishop Flaget and Father Wilson. Indeed, in the report of his diocese which the humble prelate sent to the *Laity's Directory* for 1822, we find a brief paragraph which clearly shows the error of Father Badin and Bishop Spalding as regards the time when Saint Thomas' closed its doors. Having spoken of his seminary and other affairs of his diocese, Doctor Flaget proceeds to say:

> The Dominicans have likewise established a college in Kentucky, which is greatly frequented, and promises to be of great benefit to the Diocese. Dr. Wilson is at the present time president of it, a gentleman of known piety and talents.[10]

[9] Letters to Hill as in note 5 above. In view of the fact that what is called "the French period" in the American Hierarchy was just then beginning, one can hardly blame Father Wilson's fears lest a Frenchman should be appointed bishop of Cincinnati.

[10] Page 110.

Among the greatest handicaps with which the fathers had to contend was a scarcity of members. Candidates seem to have come in fair numbers, but they did not persevere. They soon found the trials too severe for them. In his letter of September 11, 1820, to Hill, Father Wilson says the convent has even less difficulty in sustaining subjects than in finding those who are brave enough to bear the burdens of its life. None came from abroad, and none remained for profession for some years after Father Nicholas D. Young pronounced his vows. In this way, it was necessary to employ lay teachers, no less than to continue the old system of having the more advanced students assist in the instruction of those in the lower classes.

Ever faithful Father Miles' zeal and practical mind made him one of the provincial's principal supports in all these perplexities. He was called "the power behind the throne;" but this was said of him with no tinge of malice. As a matter of fact, he exercised his influence with such fine judgment, and in so admirable a spirit of fairness and disinterested zeal for the better good, that it neither aroused jealousy nor evoked adverse criticism.

Albeit, for the reasons given, the future of their institution must have at times appeared gloomy, the fathers appear to have toiled on with a buoyant spirit. Possibly they were confident that God, in whom they placed their trust, would bless their efforts in His own good time. At the present juncture these hopes seemed on the point of realization. Thomas James Polin, John Hyacinth McGrady, and James Vincent Bullock had made their professions. Thomas H. Martin had almost completed his novitiate, whilst Charles

Pius Montgomery, a younger brother of Father Samuel Montgomery, had received the habit. Charles Dominic Bowling and Joseph Thomas Jarboe were postulants still in the college, but had almost completed their classical course. All these were young men of no little promise; so had they been with the fathers long enough for them to be assured of their characters.

The outlook grew still brighter in the early fall of 1821, when Father John A. Hill, Brothers John Thomas Hynes, and John Baptist Vincent De Raymaecker, Mr. Daniel Joseph O'Leary and two or three other postulants, whose names we have not been able to discover, arrived from Europe.[11] They were the first foreign recruits. Hynes was ready for ordination; the same is true of De Raymaecker, although he had not pronounced his vows, having the singular experience of making a part of his novitiate under Hill at sea while on the journey to America. O'Leary and the others were students in theology. Martin and McGrady, mentioned above, had about completed their divinities; Polin was not far behind them.

Thus the prospects of a more rapid increase in numbers and better equipment for educational work had perhaps never appeared so glowing. Doubtless no one rejoiced more in these promises than the subject of our narrative. If only Father Hill had been kept, at least for a while longer, in the ranks of the subjects, they would likely have materialized. An excellent priest

11 Rev. F. P. Kenrick to Bishop Rosati, New York, August, 1821, and Bardstown, Kentucky, September 24, 1821 (Saint Louis Archives); Father John A. Hill to same, Springfield, Kentucky, September 29, 1821 (*ibid.*). During their stay in Rome and on their journey thence to the United States a friendship arose between Fathers Hill and Kenrick which had its part in the trouble to be recounted in the next chapter.

though he was, zealous, splendidly educated, and an orator of the first rank, the premature placing of him in authority combined with other circumstances of which we shall soon speak to engender division, rather than strength, and in the end to close Saint Thomas' College.

About the time of the arrival of the above recruits bulls were received from Rome erecting the Diocese of Cincinnati, and appointing Father Edward D. Fenwick its first bishop. There could then be little doubt but that the proposed college in or near the new episcopal city would soon be a reality. However, to Father Fenwick his nomination was as unexpected as a bolt out of the clear. Genuinely humble, he buried himself in the forests of Ohio in the hope of thus escaping the dreaded responsibility; and when he was finally discovered it required all the authority of his superiors in order to induce him to accept the miter.[12] As stated in his life:

Father Fenwick was raised to the episcopacy by Bishop Flaget on the octave of the Epiphany, Sunday, January 13, 1822. The consecration, the second of the kind performed west of the Alleghany Mountains, took place at Saint Rose's, a church that the friar himself had erected. By papal dispensation two of his colleagues, Fathers Wilson and Hill, assisted at the ceremony which was carried out with all the pomp and splendor possible in the backwoods of Kentucky. Right Rev. John B. David, coadjutor of Bardstown, preached the sermon. Attracted in part perhaps by the novelty of the occasion, but especially by the love and esteem in which the well-known missionary was held, people came from far and near to see him enrolled in the Church's episcopacy.

12 Fenwick, Kentucky, February 9, 1823, to Archbishop Maréchal (Baltimore Archives, Case 16, W 1); Rev. John A. Hill, Kentucky, November 21, 1821, to a friend in Europe (London *Catholic Miscellany,* I, 327-328); same, Kentucky, January 27, 1822, to Father Benedict Olivieri, Rome, (Propanganda Archives, Scritture Originali, Vol. 929); SPALDING, *Early Missions,* pp. 157-158, and *Life of Bishop Flaget,* p. 217; O'DANIEL, *Life of Fenwick,* pp. 242-243.

Father Fenwick was now a bishop. But possibly no Christian prelate was ever confronted with greater destitution than that which Cincinnati's first ordinary had to face. He had taken the vow of poverty, and he had practised it with scrupulosity. He had not a farthing that he could call his own. The poor convent from which he had been taken could help him but little. Fortunately, the people of Saint Rose's Parish, though themselves poor, agreed to take up a subscription in his behalf. In the meantime, while the funds necessary to take him and his retinue to the episcopal city were being thus collected, the new prelate conferred holy orders on a number of his confrères in the same church in which he himself had been so lately consecrated. Fathers Thomas H. Martin, John Hyacinth McGrady, J. T. Hynes, and J. B. V. De Raymaecker, the last two of whom have already been mentioned, were raised to the priesthood.

Bishop Fenwick had made it a condition of accepting the miter that Father Wilson, the provincial, would go to Cincinnati in the capacity of vicar general. Accordingly, having obtained between four and five hundred dollars in paper money from the people of Kentucky, and got together whatever vestments, chalices or other articles his convent could spare, the saintly prelate started for his episcopal city, accompanied by this learned divine and Fathers Hill, Hynes, and De Raymaecker. The journey, which must have taken several days, was made in an old-fashioned cart, then an indispensable possession of our pioneer backwoodsmen, drawn by two horses in tandem fashion—all a gift of Saint Rose's to his lordship. The weather was rainy; the roads, lately cut through the forests, were rough and muddy. In places they consisted merely of trees felled and laid side by side over marshes and low places. More than once the conveyance, carrying both the episcopal suite and their luggage, broke down. The travellers, obliged to swim the Kentucky River which was swollen by recent rains, were in great danger of losing their lives.

The evening before they reached their destination, the ecclesiastical caravan halted at a roadside hostel for supper. As it was Friday, the bishop instructed the lady of the house to prepare anything she pleased for their meal, except meat. Surprised at such instructions from travellers so way-worn, she suggested that per-

haps they would like to have chicken. On being told they would not take even this dish, she asked: "Are you of those people whom they call Jews, and who crucified our Saviour? Or are you Romans?" To which the holy prelate kindly replied: "No, my good lady, we are Christians. We are Catholics; but some people call us Roman Catholics, because the head of our Church resides at Rome." Another source of amusement to the pioneer innkeepers, especially to the younger ones, was the sign of the cross made by the travellers before and after eating.

The meal, considering the day and the times, was all that could be desired, and was enjoyed by the wayfarers. A bountiful piece of pie which all, except the bishop, thought was made of prunes, formed the last portion. The famished priests had begun to eat this dish with evident delight, when they noticed that his lordship had set his plate aside, and was amused at the others. Asked why he had done so, he replied with a smile: "It is mince. But continue. I have every reason for dispensing you."

It was on Saturday evening, apparently March 23, that the travellers, after many difficulties, arrived at Cincinnati. Putting their horses and cart in the stable of the hotel, they went to Michael Scott's for supper; but the unexpected arrival of so many made it necessary to send out for their first meal in the episcopal city. As Scott's home was not large enough to accommodate his guests, together with his own family, an empty house within the municipal limits was rented for Saturday night and Sunday. The building, it would seem, had but one room. Fortunately it was a spacious chamber. Here the little band of exhausted ecclesiastics slept soundly on pallets spread on the floor.

On the morrow, no doubt, mass was said in this room and the Scott home, as well as in the little suburban church of which we have spoken. It was at this last place, of course, that the papal bull erecting the new See of Cincinnati was read by Father Wilson, and that Bishop Fenwick was installed in his diocese with "humble ceremony and silent panegyric." He needed none other.[13]

These noteworthy events, one may rest assured, had

[13] *Life of Bishop Fenwick,* pp. 243-246, The sources whence the information contained in this quotation is drawn are given in the footnotes on the same pages.

no more keenly interested a participant than Father Miles. But we must not overlook the part which the Father of the Church in Tennessee took in the ceremony of the consecration of the apostle of Ohio. As Mr. Webb says, Father Miles was regarded as "quite a musical prodigy."[14] Accordingly, he was chosen to direct the music for the occasion, and presided at the organ. His melodious voice no doubt could be heard above all the others. It is said that the church could not afford even standing room for the crowd that came to witness the event, and that all, whether clergy or laity, were delighted with the way in which he acquitted himself of his part in the program. The tradition concerning the whole occurrence is among the many sweet memories that cluster around the walls of the venerable institution and the life of Father Miles there.

Bishop Flaget was accused by more than one of his brethren in the hierarchy of what may be termed zealous selfishness for that part of his diocese contained in Kentucky. Rarely did he station any of his own diocesan clergy elsewhere. With the possible exception of Father Savine, the Canadian priest who accompanied him to Bardstown in 1811, and seems to have labored for a while in Illinois,[15] the missionaries in that state and Michigan were either there before he became bishop, or were borrowed from New Orleans or Saint Louis. The same is true of Indiana until 1823, when the Rev. John Leo Champonnier was stationed at Vincennes, remaining the state's sole missionary until 1827, or later. In 1833, however, the year before the erection of the See of Vincennes, we find Father L. Picot in that city and

[14] *Centenary of Catholicity*, p. 207.

[15] We have never been able to learn Father Savine's baptismal name.

Father Simon Lalumière at Oak Ridge, Davis County.[16]

Father Edward D. Fenwick had begun his labors in Ohio before Kentucky became a bishopric, whilst the Dominican provincial sent Father N. D. Young to Fenwick's aid in that part of Bishop Flaget's charge. Tennessee, it must be admitted, was sadly overlooked; for, with the exception of the temporary sojourn of the Rev. James Cosgreve at Nashville, in 1828, no priest was stationed in that state until it was erected into a diocese.[17] Not until 1843, when the Rev. Ignatius A. Reynolds was selected as bishop of Charleston, did the saintly Flaget even willingly consent that one of his clergy should be taken for the head of another episcopal see.

However, Webb assures us, in answer to Father Fenwick's ardent plea for spiritual aid, on the day of his consecration, Doctor Flaget consented that Francis V. Badin, then in deacon's orders, should transfer his allegiance to the Diocese of Cincinnati.[18] Father Anthony Ganilh enlisted in Fenwick's cause of his own accord. Francis Badin was raised to the priesthood in Cincinnati on Holy Saturday, April 6, 1822, his ordination being the first in Ohio, just as that of his older brother, Father Stephen T. Badin, had been the first in the United States. Immediately afterwards the younger Badin and Ganilh proceeded to Detroit, Michigan,

16 *Catholic Almanac,* 1833, pp. 41-42; ALERDING, *The Diocese of Fort Wayne,* p. 18, and *The Diocese of Vincennes,* pp. 82-97; *Annales,* III, 219 ff.

17 *National Banner and Nashville Whig,* March 28, 1828. *The United States Catholic Miscellany,* May 17, 1828, gives this priest's name as Cosgrave. If he were French, Cosgreve is probably correct. Otherwise, his name was likely Cosgrove.

18 *Op. cit.,* p. 207.

where they were to help the Rev. Gabriel Richard, overburdened with labor since the return of the Revs. John Bertrand and Philip Janvier to New Orleans.[19]

Before Bishop Fenwick's consecration, a matter of importance had been got under way at Saint Rose's that demanded Father Wilson's attention. From the time they settled in the west—even prior to Fenwick's departure from England—the fathers had wished to establish a community of Dominican Sisters in America, but had been deterred from any attempt to put the pious design into execution by the lack of means to insure its success.[20] Possibly convinced that he had not long to live, Father Wilson seems to have felt that, unless the project were undertaken now, it might never be realized.

At just what date can not today be determined, Father Wilson obtained Bishop Flaget's approbation of the enterprise. Then the authorization of the Order's head, the Most Rev. Pius Maurice Viviani, was secured.[21] Backed by these credentials, the learned divine launched the sacred and long-contemplated project by an eloquent sermon on the beauty and heroism of a vocation to the religious life in the sisterhoods of the Church, which he preached at Saint Rose's a Sunday or two after Bishop Fenwick's consecration. The beloved Friar Preacher made a strong plea for postulants to enable

19 *Life of Fenwick,* pp. 247-248, and *passim.* See also sources given there.

20 Several of Fenwick's letters to Father Concanen, and one at least of Concanen's to Fenwick, touch on this subject.

21 Father Viviani was vicar general of the Order from 1820 to 1823. In one of the books of his administration we read: "Die 24 Martii, 1821. Auctoritate Apostolica Nobis commissa, conceditur facultas Patribus Provinciae Nostrae Kentucki fundandi Collegii pro Tertiariis Ordinis Nostri in eadem Provincia Kentucki et Ohio." (General's Archives, IV, 268). See also Minogue, *Pages from a Hundred Years of Dominican History,* pp. 42 ff.

him to initiate a work which he had long had at heart. He painted in roseate colors the blessings which the sacrifices and labors of those who should thus give their lives to the service of God would bring not only upon themselves, but also upon the congregation, the State of Kentucky, and even the American Church at large.

Tradition tells us that Father Wilson's discourse produced a deep impression. It would seem that he set a day on which any young ladies who might feel disposed thus to consecrate themselves to the Divine Master should call to see him at the convent. At any rate, on Thursday, February 28, 1822, nine young women of the parish offered their services for the provincial's undertaking, which, in the light of the work then set on foot, one does not hesitate to say was inspired from on high. They were Marie Sansbury (later the community's first superior), Mary Carrico, Mary A. Hill, Mary Sansbury, Rose Sansbury, Rosanna Boone, Judith McMahon, Severly Tarleton, and Molly Johnson.[22] Doubtless Father Miles' zeal made itself felt in all this, for no priest was held in higher esteem by the congregation, wielded a stronger influence for good, or cherished a deeper sympathy for the pious undertaking.

This generous response to his appeal must have rejoiced the heart of the founder, as well as made him feel that God was with him in his new enterprise. However, he wisely determined to give his protégés a trial of the life they would be expected to live before investing them with the habit of the Sisters of the Third Order of Saint Dominic. They were therefore located in a log cabin, with one room and a loft, which stood on Saint

22 Records of Saint Catherine's Academy, and MINOGUE as in the preceding note. *The Record,* Louisville, Kentucky, May 29, 1902.

Rose's farm about half a mile east of the convent, in the direction of Springfield. Father Miles was appointed their chaplain and spiritual director. No better could have been selected.

Meanwhile the provincial made ready for his northern journey for the installation of Bishop Fenwick at Cincinnati. Despite his one and sixty years of age and the hardships attendant on travel at that period, he hurried back to Saint Rose's immediately after that ceremony in order to preside at another of perhaps not less beauty and significance, albeit simple in the extreme. The nine postulants for the sisterhood were at the solemn high mass in the parochial church on Easter Sunday, April 7, 1822. After the services and sermon Miss Marie Sansbury was called to the altar railing, where, in presence of the congregation, she was vested in the tunic of a Dominican Sister, over which were placed the scapular and veil. She took the name of Sister Angela. Never before had this religious garb been seen in Kentucky, or even in the United States.

It is no matter for surprise, therefore, that the ceremony profoundly impressed the people of Saint Rose's Parish, or that it was long remembered and spoken of throughout the neighborhood. Later in the same day, no doubt in the afternoon, Father Wilson gave the habit to Sister Margaret (Mary Carrico), Sister Magdalen (Judith McMahon), and Sister Columba (Severly Tarleton), in Saint Magdalen's Chapel, as the little log cabin had been named, in honor of the penitent sinner. At both ceremonies he was assisted by Father Miles, who had prepared all things for them, no less than instructed the sisters in the rubrics and constitutions.[23]

[23] Records of Saint Catherine's Academy, and Minogue as in note 22 above.

Doubtless the decision to defer the reception of the other young ladies a little longer was caused by their youth, which suggested the prudence of further trial. Meantime Miss Molly Johnson, finding that she had no vocation to the religious life, wisely returned to the world. But in her stead came Miss Elizabeth Sansbury (a younger sister of Mother Angela), and Miss Teresa Edelen. Accordingly, in the absence of the provincial for reasons which will soon be seen, Father Miles himself officiated at the second investiture in the little log Saint Magdalen's. This was on August 3, 1822, when Sister Ann (Mary Hill), Sister Catherine (Mary Sansbury), Sister Frances (Rose Sansbury), Sister Rose (Rosanna Boone), Sister Euphrasia—later Sister Magdalen (Teresa Edelen), and Sister Mary Benven (Elizabeth Sansbury) received the habit.[24]

Soon, if not immediately, after the impressive ceremony of Easter Sunday, Father Wilson had returned to Cincinnati, where important matters claimed his attention. One of these affairs was the establishment of a college, towards which steps had already been taken; for in one of the public prints of the city we read:

> We congratulate the Roman Catholicks of this city and environs on the arrival of the Rt. Rev. Dr. Fenwick, lately consecrated Bishop of Cincinnati and the State of Ohio. This circumstance interests not only the Catholicks but all the friends of literature and useful knowledge, as we understand that his intention is ultimately to open a school, aided by the members of his order long distinguished for their piety and learning.[25]

Indeed, it seems quite certain that the fathers, as a consequence of the disfavor which Bishop Flaget now

[24] *Ibid.*

[25] *Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette,* March 30, 1822. See also the London *Catholic Miscellany,* I, 475.

manifested towards Saint Thomas' College, had determined to transfer this institution to Cincinnati, and to use the place in Kentucky merely as a convent and novitiate—perhaps eventually even to give it up altogether, for it had not yet become hallowed by the associations which at present render it sacred. Tradition has it that Fathers Wilson and Miles advocated disposing of the convent and college structures to the sisters, and that this wish was the reason why they were housed in a cabin on the farm, and why such scant preparations were made for the commencement of their community. Nor is the motive far to seek. Sisters would be needed for schools and spiritual works in Ohio. While it was a problem whether vocations to such a life could be found in the newer State of Ohio, the experience of the Sisters of Loretto and the Sisters of Charity showed that they might be expected in Kentucky.

With these purposes in view, Fathers Stephen H. Montgomery, John McGrady, and Thomas Martin were called to the north. But Bishop Flaget, vigilantly eager for the good of his own diocese, strongly opposed the measure. He even appealed to Cardinal Consalvi, prefect of the Propaganda, to prevent its execution. Strange to say, although he perhaps had no competency in the matter, the cardinal at once ordered that the little band of Friars Preacher should be divided between Ohio and Kentucky. Stranger still, he issued the command without taking the trouble either to consult their provincial or to hear their side of the case.[26] On the other

[26] The prefect of the Propaganda to the superior of the Dominicans in Kentucky, July 27, 1822 (Archives of Saint Rose's Convent, Springfield, Kentucky); Fenwick to Archbishop Maréchal, February 9, 1823 (Baltimore Archives, Case 16, W. 1); Fenwick to the prefect of the Propaganda, April 16, 1823 (copy in Archives of Notre Dame University).

hand, it affords no little edification to see Wilson, for the sake of harmony, readily obey a command that likely did not bind in law or conscience, even though it was fraught with evil consequences both to his Order and to the diocese of his former confrère, Bishop Fenwick.

Father Wilson, as a result of this interference, was soon obliged to return to Saint Rose's. Father Hill then took his place as vicar general in Cincinnati. However, the ill-advised ordinance of Cardinal Consalvi, preventing as it did a concentration of forces, not merely long stood in the way of a more rapid growth for the American province of Friars Preacher; it was likewise a source of much annoyance to Bishop Fenwick, and greatly impeded the progress of religion in Ohio.

Fortunately, although the number of students had perhaps somewhat decreased because of the preoccupations about Cincinnati, Saint Thomas' had not been closed. Father Samuel Montgomery was therefore recalled from the missions in northern Kentucky. Father William T. Willett was left at Lexington only for the sake of his health, which would not permit him to engage in educational work.[27] With his diminished forces the provincial set himself to the reorganization of the college in the hope that it might soon attain, if not exceed, its highest number of pupils. In these efforts he placed the greatest reliance on Father Miles, who was a tower of strength in all that made for good.

—There are many documents showing Fenwick's bitter disappointment at this turn of things. Cardinal Consalvi's order reached Kentucky in October, 1822, just when matters were assuming shape in Ohio.

27 Father Willett died in Lexington on May 6, 1824. For notices of this talented and pious friend of Bishop Miles see Spalding's *Early Missions*, p. 159, and *Life of Bishop Fenwick*, pp. 286-287.

Meantime, that he might still help impoverished and distressed Bishop Fenwick so far as he could, Wilson used his authority to send Father Hynes to Rome, where he had studied, and Father McGrady to Ireland. The mission of both was to obtain means and missionaries for Ohio. It is a pity that Hynes did not return, for subsequent events show him to have possessed rare talents for just such work as was then needed in the new diocese. While he was at Rome the higher authorities saw fit to send him to British Guiana, where he became a veritable apostle, and eventually bishop. Still it is not improbable that he welcomed the change for the reasons that follow.[28]

Hardly had these two men started on their way when Father Hill began to disturb the even trend of affairs. As in Rome, while Wilson's procurator, he had sought to unite the English and the American provinces of Friars Preacher; so now, in his capacity of vicar general, he gained the confidence of Bishop Fenwick, and used his influence in order to divide the little American Province. He induced the postulants whom he brought from abroad to join him in Ohio. But there only one of them, the saintly Father Daniel J. O'Leary, remained for profession.

Father Hill's influence, there can be no doubt, was the power that brought about the historic agreement between Father Wilson and Bishop Fenwick, on the eve of the latter's journey to Europe in the late spring of 1823, for the erection of a separate province of the

28 In some of his letters Bishop Fenwick speaks as though he had sent these two priests to Europe. However, he was not their superior. Possibly Father Wilson sent them at his request. The *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi,* January, 1839 (XI, 92 ff), give a sketch of Father Hynes' labors in British Guiana.

Order in Ohio independent of that in Kentucky. Father Miles, tradition declares, opposed the measure with all his might, yet in his characteristically mild and gentle way. The provincial also strongly doubted the wisdom of the division; but he felt that, under the circumstances, it was perhaps the best thing that could be done. For this reason, greatly as he disliked to do so, he withstood the arguments and entreaties of his trusted friend.

Father Tuite, though the mildest of men, yet a not disinterested witness in the affairs, says that the turn of events broke Father Wilson's heart; which is no doubt true, for it necessitated starting anew at an age when most people look for a surcease from toil.[29] However, he found a source of courage in the subject of our narrative and other valiant confrères, and bravely took up the task. To Father Miles he entrusted the charge of the sisters, but helped him, as opportunity permitted, in the preparation of them for their work of teaching.[30]

If Doctor Wilson and Father Miles (for the latter may justly be styled a co-founder) had done no more than establish Saint Magdalen's Community of Dominican Sisters (now known as that of Saint Catherine of Sienna), their names would still deserve to be inscribed in letters of gold in the annals of our American church history. By natural and legal division, subdivision, and inspiration it has become the parent stem of various provinces of Sisters of Saint Dominic, whose members

29 Letters to Father Velzi, January 23 and July 24, 1828. The disturbing tendency of Father Hill's influence is patent from various sources.

30 This explains why Father Miles' name, instead of Father Wilson's, appears in nearly all the earliest records of the convent. In one of his letters, written some years after this time, Bishop Fenwick speaks as if Father Hill gave the habit to the first sisters, which is certainly erroneous. Likely the holy prelate, owing to the crowded works of his life, became confused on this matter.

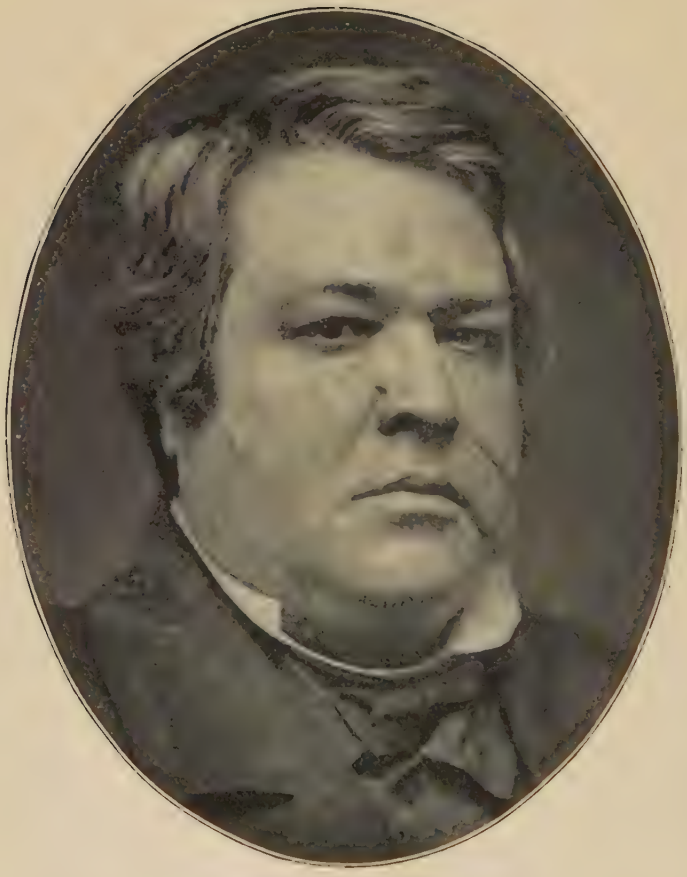
run into thousands, teach Catholic schools, conduct academies and colleges, and carry on works of charity throughout the length and breadth of the land. The work of the two priests, no less than their memory, still lives in and through these pious ladies. Everywhere are their names blessed.[31]

Saint Thomas' College held its own with its competitors. In fact, it prospered, considering the times. Father Miles rendered it efficient services, in spite of his care of the sisters and his labors in the parish and on the missions. But Father Wilson's course was near its end. God had decreed to give the great man the reward of his long and faithful life. He died, almost on his feet, May 23, 1824. Webb rightly says of him:

> Father Wilson's administration of the foundation of St. Rose was in all respects admirable. He seemed to have felt in advance that the great coming want of the country, in respect to Catholic interests, would be a properly trained and educated clergy; and his grand idea was to make the institution over which he had been placed a source of supply to the ranks of the priesthood. . . .[32] [The province's] after expansion, and the happy results of its foundation, now to be seen in the heart of the country, and extending from seaboard to seaboard across its face, are to be attributed, in a great degree at least, to the wise direction given to the little

[31] It was during this eventful period of his life that Father Miles lost his venerable father. The precise date of Nicholas Miles' death can not now be determined; but his will, dated February 27 and probated October 20, 1823 (Will Book E, pp. 28-30, Recorder's Office, Bardstown, Kentucky), shows that he died in that year (at the age of eighty-two or eighty-three), and sustains the tradition that he remained active almost to the end of his long life. Although, in the natural course of things, he could not have expected his father to live much longer, and must have realized that he had been unusually blessed in having him even to such an age, one is justified in the belief that so devoted a son felt the loss keenly. Mrs. Miles survived her husband, and is said to have lived several years after his demise. We could find no record of her death.

[32] *Centenary of Catholicity*, p. 203.



VERY REV. SAMUEL T. WILSON, O. P., S. T. M.

THE FIRST PROVINCIAL OF A RELIGIOUS ORDER IN THE UNITED STATES, AND THE FIRST PRIEST TO RECEIVE THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF THEOLOGY IN THE COUNTRY

community of St. Rose by its second [first] provincial three quarters of a century ago. . . . .[33]

Father Thomas Wilson was fitted by nature and grace, as well as by culture, for the position to which he had been appointed. He commanded both admiration and respect, the first on account of his great learning and acknowledged talents, and the last because of his adherence to the right on all occasions, and the virtues he practiced in the sight of men. It were impossible that between such a preceptor and his pupils there should not have grown up affection on the one side and reverence on the other. That he loved them is shown by his solicitude in everything that concerned them, and most especially in their advancement in the knowledge of divine things; and that he was held by them in the most profound reverence is evidenced by the fact that in their after-lives they never appeared weary of rehearsing his praises. . . .[34]

What he did for secular education in the congregation of St. Rose and far beyond its limits, and what he did for the Church in Kentucky in supplying it with zealous priests to uphold and continue God's work in the land of his adoption, must in the future, as in the present and the past, make his name a by-word of honor among Catholic Christians all over the country.[35]

As the same author says, Father Wilson was honored by all with whom he came into contact. Owing to his merits, the representations of Father Fenwick, and the initial state of the province, his appointment as provincial and prior was *usque ad revocationem* (until revoked). So he held the position until his death—nearly seventeen years. No one, with the possible exception of Father Hill, found fault with his government; no one wanted any other as superior in his stead.

More than forty years have passed since the historian of the Church in Kentucky penned the words we have just quoted, and over a century since the great Friar Preacher's death. Yet his name is still "a byword of honor" not only in the province of the brethren which

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 204. [34] *Ibid.*, p. 206. [35] *Ibid.*, p. 208.

he helped to found, but also in the parish of Saint Rose, central Kentucky, and beyond. His influence is still felt; his memory still gives added zeal to the labors of one generation of confrères after another, though the province has grown greatly, and its members are many times the number of his day.

The first provincial had no more ardent admirer, no truer friend, no more willing or faithful helper than Father Miles. Thus, while his death was deeply regretted by all, none could have felt it more keenly than the future bishop of Tennessee.

CHAPTER IX

FOUR YEARS UNDER FATHER TUITE

SHORTLY before he left Cincinnati for Rome to seek aid for his impoverished diocese, Bishop Fenwick and Father Wilson agreed jointly to ask the General of the Order for a division of the little band of American Friars Preacher into two provinces. This was in May, 1823. One of the reasons for the step was certainly to obviate future difficulties between the dioceses of Cincinnati and Bardstown over the matter of locating Dominican missionary priests. Little less certain is it that the scheme was evolved by Father John A. Hill, or that his influence practically forced Father Wilson into such a compact.[1]

When Bishop Fenwick reached the Eternal City, as he had not made known his intention of going thither, the Most Rev. Joseph Velzi, Vicar General of the Order, was absent on a visitation of the Kingdom of The Two Sicilies. But Father Alexander Bardani, whom he had left in charge at Rome, received the request favorably, and on January 11, 1824, issued letters patent for the erection of the Province of Saint Louis Bertrand in the Diocese of Cincinnati. He also appointed Father Hill its provincial, doubtless at the sug-

[1] A joint letter of Fenwick and Wilson to the General of the Dominicans. It bears no date, but it was evidently written very shortly before the bishop started for Rome, at the end of May, 1823 (Archives of the Propaganda, America Centrale, Vol. IX). A number of documents show Hill's activity in the matter.

gestion of Bishop Fenwick. Saint Joseph's Province was confined to the limits of the Diocese of Bardstown. But, before the documents in the affair reached their destination, the great Wilson had passed to his eternal reward.[2]

However, the erection of the Province of Saint Louis Bertrand, or the separation of the fathers in Ohio from that of Saint Joseph, was to become operative only in case the measure should be approved by a majority of those in Kentucky, a condition that was not fulfilled.[3] This defect, of course, vacated the entire enactment. Father William R. Tuite succeeded Wilson at Saint Rose's, and a very definite tradition assures us that his stand in the matter was largely responsible for the miscarriage of the division project. In this way, although a holy, quiet, and inoffensive man, he incurred the displeasure of those who favored two provinces—all the more so because his action prevented the fathers in Ohio from receiving the means and property that were to go to them in accordance with the Fenwick-Wilson compact.[4]

[2] Patent erecting Saint Louis Bertrand's Province —a copy in the handwriting of Father Stephen Byrne, O. P. (Archives of Saint Joseph's Priory, Somerset, Ohio). Shea tells us (*History of the Catholic Church in the United States,* III, 352) that the original of this patent is in the Archives of Notre Dame University; but we did not find it there. Doubtless Father Byrne made his copy from this before it was taken from Cincinnati. There are two copies of it in the Archives of the Dominican General, Rome—an unsigned one in Codex IV, 269, Letters 1822-1839, p. 10; and one signed with Velzi's name in Codex V, 26. But it seems certain that Bardani signed the latter in Velzi's name. Both these copies are dated January 18, 1824.

[3] Velzi to Tuite, August 23, 1827 (Archives of Saint Rose's Priory, Springfield, Kentucky). There are several documents to this effect, but the original letter on the matter to Wilson has been lost.

[4] The Fenwick-Wilson letter to the Dominican General as in note 1 of this chapter. The same appears from several documents. It should

Father Hill, it would seem certain, received no direct notice from either Father Bardani or Father Velzi about the condition on which the Province of Saint Louis Bertrand had been founded, and refused to take Father Tuite's word for it. Quite naturally Bishop Fenwick's sympathies were with Hill. Rome let the matter drag on for nearly four years without action. There are clear indications that, because of the small number of priests, Father Velzi himself regarded the existence of two provinces with little favor, but disliked to do anything that might offend Fenwick, or appear to reflect on the action of his own vicar. So he permitted the affair to remain at a standstill, not without a serious drawback to the interests of his brethren in the United States.[5]

Father Hill had the support of Father N. D. Young, the bishop's nephew. Between them they gained the co-operation of the Rev. Frederic Rese. Because of the oppressive work of the college, in consequence of the diminished forces brought about by the emigration to Ohio, Father Tuite gave up the charge of Danville and other missions, by which he aroused the wrath of Bishop Flaget.[6] When therefore Father Hill and his sympathizers approached that zealous prelate about the matter under consideration, they found him in a receptive

be noted in this connection that these documents seem to show Bishop Fenwick (pious, meek, and just though he certainly was) too anxious to get possession of the little property owned by his brethren in Kentucky. No doubt he was led to this by his straits, and felt that he was justified by the fact that most of what they had came through him. With Father Hill the property consideration was quite an important item.

[5] Velzi to Tuite, August 23, 1827, as in note 3 of this chapter; same to Fenwick April 26, 1828 (*ibid.*).

[6] Father William T. Willett died in Lexington, May 6, 1824, a few weeks before the death of Father Wilson. Father Tuite's refusal to send another priest to take his place there, although he could not have been expected to do so, is said to have greatly angered Bishop Flaget.

mood for their representation of the case. Through him the Rev. Francis P. Kenrick, a learned young priest of his diocese, was also partly drawn into the affair.[7]

All this, there can scarcely be any room for doubt, was largely responsible for a number of criticisms against Father Tuite's administration and his intimate friend, Father Samuel Montgomery. Some complaints were even sent to Rome by Bishop Flaget and Father Kenrick.[8] However, a study of the lives of Tuite and Montgomery, together with the manuscript literature of the day, shows these remonstrances to have been not only hasty, but also made with little or no reason.

Letters, his own included, prove that the bishop's piety and honesty did not always safeguard him against undue credence to groundless talk, or harshness in criticism, or lack of charity in his judgment. One whom he suffered to deceive him was an unscrupulous overseer who had been discharged by Fathers Tuite and Montgomery, respectively the superior and syndic at Saint Rose's. Fathers Hill and Young he let convince him that Tuite really had no authority. It seems certain that Hill sought to get Dominican Sisters for Ohio through the bishop rather than through Tuite and Miles, although they were under the jurisdiction of the Order; and even that he endeavored to persuade them all to go to the Diocese of Cincinnati.[9]

[7] The facts recorded in this paragraph are shown by a number of documents—some in the Propaganda Archives, and some in those of the province and Saint Rose's Priory. Father Kenrick afterwards became bishop of Philadelphia and archbishop of Baltimore.

[8] There are several of these letters in the Propaganda Archives and those of the Dominican General.

[9] Tuite to Flaget, March 28, 1826 (?) (Archives of Saint Rose's Priory); Hill to Fenwick, October 23, 1824 (Archives of Saint Joseph's Priory, Somerset, Ohio); M. Johnson to same, July 18, 1825 (*ibid.*)

The whole affair is an illustration of the proneness of human nature to bias, especially when one's interest is concerned, and of the inconsistencies into which it not infrequently leads the best of us. Possibly it is the tradition of his part in this matter that has prevented Father Hill from being held by the province in the esteem and reverence to which his zeal, labors, virtues, and ability should entitle him. He did extraordinary missionary work in Ohio, while he was universally loved and admired by the people.

More than one of the interested parties sought to enlist the subject of our narrative on their side. But Father Miles was too well balanced to be drawn from what he belived to be his duty. Evidenty he defended his friend and superior, whose rights he could not but see had been unjustly attacked, which alone would have won the sympathies of a man of his character. Still he sought to pour oil on the troubled waters. Even this wiser course seems to have offended Doctor Kenrick. On the other hand, Father Tuite was somewhat incensed because he did not take a more active part in his behalf, which he wrongly felt to be the result of ambition. Whilst the future prelate was perfectly content to let Father Hill have some of the sisters for Ohio, he stood firm against him taking the entire community. In this resolution he naturally had the support of his provincial.[10]

Father Tuite also maintained the even tenor of his ways. Indeed, he showed a strength that few would have expected of one with his mild disposition. His life is an apt illustratation of the old saying: "Still

10 Tuite to Velzi, January 23, 1828, and July 29, 1828; Hill and Johnson to Fenwick as in the preceding note.

water runs deep." With the faithful co-operation of Miles, Montgomery, and Polin, then the only priests in the community, he effected much good in the College of Saint Thomas as well as in the congregation. Students came to the school in goodly numbers as well from a distance as from the state and parish.

In this connection we distinctly recall meeting one of its former professors in the distant past, Father Joseph T. Jarboe, then almost an octogenarian, who had just retired from his long labors in Tennessee in order that he might end his days at Saint Joseph's, Somerset, Ohio. On his way north he stopped for a week or more at Saint Rose's for a last visit at the place where he had entered the Order, made his studies, and spent many years of his life. He was in high spirits and fine reminiscent mood; his mind good; his memory excellent. More than one evening he entertained the novices with recollections of his early days there. Besides, we had the good fortune to be appointed to look after his needs. Again, when he left, we were delegated to take him in a buggy to the home of his nephew who lived about eleven miles distant.

On all these occasions, for his mind seemed full of the subject, the patriarchal old priest discoursed at length on Bishop Miles, Fathers Tuite and Samuel Montgomery, and the college which, he said, had a large attendance for that day. It was an excellent school. Some splendid men, both Catholic and non-Catholic, were educated in it. They were a credit to every profession. He loved the work of teaching, but the effort to combine it with his own studies so undermined his health that it was feared he would not live until his ordination. Fathers Charles D. Bowling, James V.

Bullock, and Charles P. Montgomery, the last named afterwards provincial and nominated bishop of Monterey, California, also came in for much praise. Bowling was one of the most ascetic men he ever knew; Bullock the most extraordinary linguist with whom he had come into contact. Like Jarboe himself, they were professed clerics, but helped in the college. Excessive work kept them "as thin as rails." Quite a number of lay professors were likewise employed in the institution.

Saint Thomas' College had almost as many students as Saint Joseph's and Saint Mary's together until a French priest came up to Bardstown from Louisiana with his whole school.[11] One of the most unfortunate things that ever happened to the province was the closing of Saint Thomas' by Father Muños. When he spoke of this action the aged clergyman's cheeks reddened as if with indignation. Bishop Miles was president of the college during Father Tuite's term of office.

It would appear, in fact, that, when better times returned, Saint Thomas' bade fair soon to outstrip its palmiest days. The *United States Catholic Miscellany* of November 10, 1827, in an account of the jubilee services given at Saint Rose's in the previous September, says: "Contiguous to it [that is, the convent,] is erected a school of public instruction, the number of whose

11 This was the Rev. B. Martial who had conducted a school in a country house of the Ursuline Sisters of New Orleans. He came up to Bardstown in 1825, and brought fifty-four students with him. In 1826 he went to Rome and took with him a letter to the prefect of the Propaganda from Bishop Flaget, in which the zealous prelate says that this increase of students had fortunately put his college on its feet. See also *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, I, No. V, p. 74, and III, 184; and Spalding, *Early Missions*, p. 280.

pupils is daily increasing." Similarly, "A Brief Account" (*Breve Narrazione*) of the jubilee, which Bishop Flaget sent to Rome, states that there are four colleges in the diocese, one of which is conducted "by the Dominican Fathers who belong to the Convent of Saint Rose," where many youths are educated.[12]

Apostolic work kept pace with that of education. In truth, Saint Rose's was the model parish of the diocese. The Hon. Ben. Webb but states a plain fact, when he says:

> The congregation of St. Ann, the first over which pastoral supervision was exercised by the Dominican Fathers, and that of St. Rose, by which it was succeeded in 1808, and which is still subject to their care and guidance, has at no time been regarded otherwise than as a model congregation of Catholic christian souls. As early as the year 1826 [1827], on the occasion of the jubilee preached that year in Kentucky, it exceeded all others in the State in the number of those who approached the sacraments of penance and the Holy Eucharist. Whereas the highest number of communicants in any one of the other congregations of the diocese, on the occasion referred to, was but four hundred and ninety-five, (that of Holy Cross,) no fewer than eight hundred received holy communion in the single church of St. Rose.[13]

Futhermore, the *Breve Narrazione* referred to above reveals the almost incredible fact that the communions at Saint Rose's nearly doubled those at the cathedral,

12 Propaganda Archives, America Centrale, Vol. IX. In the *Annales* as in the preceding note, III, 174 and 197, mention is also made of the Dominican college, showing it in operation in 1826 and early in 1828. Father Kenrick likewise speaks of it in a letter to the prefect of the Propaganda, October 27, 1827, and says that it is under the direction of Father Miles (Propaganda Archives, Vol. IX, as above). All this clearly shows the error of Badin and Spalding, when they tell us that it was closed in 1819 or 1820. The same error is found in Father J. A. Burn's *The Catholic School System in the United States* (p. 178). He took the date from Spalding.

13 *Op. cit.*, p. 205.

and were well-nigh one fifth of the entire number received in the one and twenty parishes of the diocese on that notable occasion.[14] The correspondent of the *United States Catholic Miscellany,* who signs himself "J. M.," declares: "The solicitude of the pious people to gain the spiritual treasure of the Jubilee caused them to anticipate the sun's morning appearance, and to wait until after he had hid his lustre, that they might have access to the confessors." Nearly eight hundred, he says, approached the sacred table by the end of the week. As it was impossible to hear the confessions of all, it was necessary to defer the completion of the jubilee until a later date; which must have carried the number of communions to considerably over eight hundred.[15]

The *Miscellany's* accounts of the jubilee exercises in the various churches, about all from the pen of "J. M.," show clearly that at none of them did the people manifest such piety, fervor, and earnestness, or turn out in proportionately such great numbers, as at that of Saint Rose. Indeed, their spirit of religion so impressed Bishop Flaget that it moved him to write to Bishop Fenwick:

> I have just returned from an apostolic excursion, during which, aided by several of my young missionaries, I gave the jubilee in three parishes. The first one was that of Saint Rose, where some eight hundred persons received holy communion. . . . I declared

[14] Spalding (*Life of Flaget,* p. 260) says that over six thousand persons received communion during the jubilee which is evidently an exaggeration; for the *Breve Narrazione,* following parish by parish, gives the number as four thousand three hundred and fifty. This document is in the handwriting of Father F. P. Kenrick who everywhere helped to conduct the jubilee.

[15] Edition of November 10, 1827. "J. M." was likely an assumed name, for we have not been able to discover any priest in the Louisville Diocese at that time to whom it may apply.

publicly that I had not expected to find in this parish such fervor as it had manifested; and that I was greatly consoled in that I could bestow only the highest praise on the piety of the faithful and on the zeal of the priests who directed them.[16]

This splendid manifestation of faith was a spontaneous outpouring of the heart. Its reason is not far to seek. Father Tuite and his associates (Fathers Miles, Samuel Montgomery, and Thomas J. Polin) were zealous and holy priests, notwithstanding the uncharitable strictures that cropped out in the unpleasant relations to which reference has been made. They understood their people; their people understood them. True shepherds of souls, they were ever at their post of duty, which brought out the parish in numbers for all spiritual exercises. Anent their leader, who bore the brunt of the ill-will, Mr. Webb writes thus:

Of Father William Raymond Tuite and his labors the writer's knowledge is limited to the simple fact that he was a most amiable and praiseworthy priest. . . . He remembers having heard him spoken of by a friend, years ago, as one toward whom naturally tended the affection of his parishioners of the congregation of St. Rose, and as having lived a life filled with merits, and having died the death of the just.[17]

Thus the misunderstanding and unpleasantness did not chill the zeal or ardor of the fathers for the salvation of souls. As a matter of fact, they never labored harder or with greater fruit than at this very time. Cognizance was taken of their apostolic toil not merely in America, but even in Europe. Of how Father Nicholas Sewell, provincial of the Society of Jesus in England, was impressed by the reports of their spiritual endeavors may be judged from his letter to Father Enoch Fenwick, S.J., of Georgetown College, written when the

[16] Letter dated October 10, 1827 (Notre Dame Archives).
[17] *Op. cit.*, p. 208.

agitation was at its height. "The Dominicans [he says] are doing great things for the glory of God in Ohio, Kentucky, etc.; let us emulate their example and renew the zeal of our forefathers."[18]

Similar in tone is a communication which appeared in the *Catholic Advocate* of April 24, 1847. It covers the period of which we are speaking, and shows how the memory of the zeal of these early fathers was treasured by those who came under its influence. The language reveals a good mind at the same time that it indicates an education which must have been received at Saint Thomas'.

In your number for the 3rd of April [says the writer] I read a communication upon "Catholic Institutions, Convents, Schools, etc., in Kentucky", which called forth many serious reflections. The writer of that article has taken me back, in thought, not only to the days of my youth, but to the very place of my nativity. O how long will the scenes and reminiscences of my childhood last! I have lived nearly half a century, and yet I am unable to forget the good old land of my early home.

Yes, *St. Rose* is a venerated name, which, though I could live for centuries to come, I cannot forget. For it was within her sacred walls that I received that salutary Christian instruction, at the hands of pious Fathers Wilson, Tuite, Miles, Willett, and Polin, which I hope, with the grace of God, never to forget. . . .[19] It was there that I used to go to early Mass, when I wished to seek a reconciliation with an offended God, in the holy sacrament of

[18] Letter from Stonyhurst (?), England, and dated September 28, 1824 (Archives of the Maryland-New York Province of Jesuit Fathers, Case 204, K 14).—Doubtless some of the writers of the uncharitable letters of this time afterwards regretted their actions. This is certainly true of Father Francis P. Kenrick.

[19] We are inclined to think that the *Advocate's* correspondent confounded Father Willett with Father Samuel Montgomery. Willett did not remain long at Saint Rose's after his ordination. Montgomery spent more time there. Father Polin seems to have been ordained shortly after Father Wilson's death; and this fact shows that the *Advocate's* communication covers the period of which we treat in this chapter.

penance. Never, never, can I eradicate from my remembrance the holy counsels of Father Polin. He was the most holy man I ever knew. And no one, I will venture to say, ever knelt at his feet and did not go away a better man.

It was there, too, that I learned the little that I know of sacred music, under the tuition of the Right Rev. Bishop of Nashville. O what satisfaction did I then enjoy, on Saturday and Sunday evenings, when the young people would assemble at church, with the good Bishop, then a Priest, at our head, and with the organ, we would sing the joyful hymns and anthems appropriate to the time. It was there, too, that I used to go on Sunday evenings to hear the Fathers of St. Dominic chaunt, or sing the Vespers. In fine, it was there that every facility was afforded to the sincere Christian for the practice of his duties as such, and all efforts were made to reclaim sinners from the evil of their ways. . . .

[Signed] A."

Paducah [Kentucky], April 11, 1847."

After the death of Father Wilson, the subject of our narrative seems to have acted as master of novices. But he held the position for only a short time, for it was given to Father Polin soon after his ordination. As the reader may readily imagine, the zealous priest found ample employment in the ministerial and educational duties attached to the parish of Saint Rose and the College of Saint Thomas of Aquin. Yet to tell of his labors along these lines at the present period of his life were largely to repeat what has been recounted in previous chapters. Suffice it then to say that in all things he was one of Father Tuite's mainstays, even as he had been one of Father Wilson's—and then pass on to another phase of his apostolate which had come into prominence at this time.

Shortly after the ordination of the apostle of Tennessee, one of the ministers in Springfield, possibly

aroused by the doctrinal sermons that drew crowds to Saint Rose's, commenced a series of violent attacks on the Church and everything Catholic. At first, little attention was paid to his harangues by the fathers. However, when they began to engender bitterness between the Catholics and their neighbors, as well as otherwise to disturb the tranquillity of the neighborhood, the priests were obliged to take up the cudgels, no less in the interest of peace than in their own defense and that of the Church. Gradually the trouble maker was reduced to silence by the masterful refutations delivered, some in the courthouse in Springfield and some from the pulpit at Saint Rose's. Then he tried the same tactics in Bardstown, where he came into conflict with the Right Rev. John B. David.[20]

Naturally, Fathers Wilson and Tuite, because the senior clergy, were the leading spirits in this controversial bout. Yet it has been handed down to us that Father Miles, though ordained only a short time, played a no inconspicuous part in the affair. Doubtless he was guided in these efforts by his mentor, Father Wilson, to whom he had recourse in every uncertainty. Be this as it may, the discussions not only brought him into prominence as an able controversialist, but also prepared the way for other fruitful labors along somewhat similar lines.

Although he had commenced such work prior to the present period of his life, he now became especially active in lecturing on the Catholic faith to mixed audiences in and around Springfield. His favorite method of carrying on this apostolate was that of

20 See introduction to Bishop David's *Vindication of the Catholic Doctrine concerning the Use and Veneration of Images,* etc.

question and answer. Father Samuel Montgomery, whenever they could arrange to be together, proposed the stock objections against the Church and the difficulties in her tenets. Father Miles solved them. His clear, logical mind, happy expression, and urbane manner stood him in splendid stead in these endeavors. Perhaps not less helpful was the care with which he avoided whatever might offend any part of his audience. He knew well that harsh words, sarcasm or ridicule often darken the mind, but seldom enlighten it; that wounded feelings tend rather to close than to open the heart. For this reason, he took particular pains to show, not animus, but kindness in his refutation of un-Catholic tenets. Little wonder that crowds went to hear him.

Tradition tells us that Father Miles' gently controversial discourses resulted in a number of conversions. Some there were who advised him to be more pointed in his remarks; still he remained firm in his conviction that moderation is far the wiser policy. "Quietly sow the seed," he would reply; "the harvest will come later." It was only natural that the knowledge of the good thus accomplished should spread. The old fathers of the province used to maintain that it inspired Bishop Flaget with the idea of conducting the jubilee of 1826 and 1827 along the same lines, and that Father Miles took the part of objector at the time of the exercises at Saint Rose's. However this may be, the project gave the Rev. F. P. Kenrick, then only a few years ordained, an excellent opportunity to employ his superior talents and learning for the benefit of religion in Kentucky.[21]

[21] Tradition tells us that the clever Propaganda student declared that Father Miles, during the exercises of Saint Rose's, gave him some of the

Despite the pressure of his other occupations and the exigency of his professional duties, Father Miles did not overlook the needs of the community of sisters which he had helped to bring into existence. After Father Wilson's death especially, he was their guiding light, and the staff upon which they leaned in their many trials. When their first school, started in a former still-house that stood on the farm given them by Mother Angela Sansbury's father, became too small, he encouraged that valiant woman to erect a brick structure which would serve for both an academy and a convent. Similarly, when their small means became exhausted, he persuaded Bishop Flaget to permit them to solicit means to carry the enterprise to completion.[22]

But the scanty contributions received proved wholly inadequate for the project. Father Miles, shocked at the idea that these spouses of Christ should be thus thwarted in their good work, or obliged to continue in almost uninhabitable quarters, then obtained permission from Father Tuite to sign a pledge by which he made himself personally responsible for the payment of the money which the sisters should have to borrow in order to finish the edifice. The signature, though required by those who lent the means, was a mere matter of form, for there could be no doubt that his charges would be able to pay their debts by degrees. *Pages from a Hundred Years of Dominican History* assures us that he was ever their "true friend and counsellor."[23] He

most difficult objections that he had to answer the whole time of the jubilee.

22 Flaget to Miles, August 25, 1826 (Louisville Archives); Minogue, *Pages from a Hundred Years of Dominican History,* pp. 53 ff.

23 Fenwick to the Most Rev. Joachim Briz, Dominican General, October 10, 1829 (copy in Saint Rose's Archives); Minogue, p. 62.

instructed them, trained them in the art of pedagogy, drilled them in the rules and constitutions of the Order, taught them the aims and purposes of their vocation.

However, the future prelate's long years of faithful labor in Kentucky were now near their close. Father Tuite's term of office would soon expire. The same was true of Father Hill's provincialship in Ohio. Father Joseph Velzi, the General, it would appear, wrote to both to notify them of this fact, but the letter for Kentucky miscarried. Hill replied on January 12, 1827, and seems to have sent his answer by the Rev. Frederic Rese who went to Rome on business for Bishop Fenwick.[24]

The document presses Velzi to co-operate with the bishop's plan for a Dominican prefecture apostolic in Ohio. As the decree of the division of the fathers into two provinces had not taken legal effect, in default of an approval by a majority of the brethren in Kentucky, Hill would have the enactment formally annulled, the Province of Saint Joseph suppressed, and a new one organized under the name of Saint Louis Bertrand, with headquarters in Ohio. He now thinks that it would be better both for religion and for the Order if all the fathers were placed under one jurisdiction, as their united efforts would be more effective for good.[25]

Meantime the General determined to give the fathers a voice in the selection of their provincial. On August 23, 1827, therefore, he wrote to authorize Father Tuite,

24 Propaganda Archives, America Centrale, Vol. IX); *Life of Bishop Fenwick*, pp. 338 ff.

25 There is every reason for believing that the proposed Ohio prefecture was the work of Father Hill. Such an idea fits in with his way of dreaming, while it is totally foreign to Bishop Fenwick.

as the superior of the oldest house, to convoke the brethren in chapter and to forward to him the name of the one whom the majority should judge the best fitted for that position. The same document declared that, as the former division of the province had not been accepted by the greater number of the members in Kentucky, which had been stipulated as necessary for the instrument to become effective, the Province of Saint Louis Bertrand had never enjoyed any legal existence; that in the future there should be only one province; and that it should retain the name of Saint Joseph.[26]

Before the appointment of a new provincial could be made, Fenwick's petition for a prefecture apostolic in Ohio, which was carried to Rome by Father Frederic Rese, brought together Cardinal Capellari and Archbishop Caprano, respectively the prefect and the secretary of the Propaganda, and Father Velzi. This affair, in conjunction with the disagreements mentioned earlier, culminated in the appointment of Bishop Fenwick as head (or commissary general) of the province, the letters patent of which bear the date of May 25, 1828.[27] Certainly no holier man could have been selected. Yet the action could scarcely be pronounced wise. Apart from its extra-constitutionality, it placed the bishop in a most delicate position; while, pressed as he was for means and missionaries in his diocese, he could hardly be expected, or even able,

[26] Archives of Saint Rose's Priory, Springfield, Kentucky. As the province did not yet have three convents, the right of appointing a provincial vested in the hands of the Master General.

[27] Copy in Archives of Saint Joseph's Priory, Somerset, Ohio. See also *Life of Bishop Flaget,* pp. 53 ff.

always to strike a just poise between its rights and those of the Order of Preachers.

Doubtless there were those who, quite naturally, preferred to have the reins of authority in the hands of another than the bishop, though he had been one of their number. Tradition tells us that, could an elective chapter of all the brethren have been held, Father Miles would have been chosen for the position by practically a unanimous vote. Yet, because of the high esteem and love in which the province's founder was held, not a voice seems to have been raised against his appointment. Every one knew that he had not sought the new dignity and onus, as well as that the choice of him for the place was much against his wish.

Shortly after the receipt of the letters patent of this extraordinary appointment, which has few parallels in the history of the Order, Bishop Fenwick set out for Kentucky to visit Saint Rose's. While there, August 21, 1828, he forwarded to Cincinnati Father Raphael Muños' appointment as prior to succeed Father Tuite.[28] The fact that the document is in the handwriting of Father Tuite reveals the good-will of that humble religious, speaks well for his spirit of obedience, and shows, even were there no other proof, that Muños was not sent to Saint Rose's for the purpose of re-establishing discipline as Bishop Spalding, evidently deceived by some letters of his predecessor, was led to believe.[29]

Father Muños' appointment, as a matter of fact, was largely intended as a pacific to Bishop Flaget;

[28] Archives of Saint Rose's Priory, Springfield, Kentucky.
[29] *Life of Bishop Flaget*, p. 288.

for, in spite of the fruits which he had witnessed of Father Tuite's zeal, he still cherished a bias towards the venerable Friar Preacher. Muños was the austerest of men. He mortified himself in the extreme, often taking the discipline, it is said, until the blood ran to his heels. He was a Master of Sacred Theology; had been a confessor to the royal family of Spain, a member of the regal chapter and a synodical examiner for two Spanish dioceses; was widely known as a zealous priest of the most exemplary character and an eloquent preacher.[30] Moreover, he had been an efficient missionary in Ohio for three years. Surely, thought the vicar provincial, Bardstown's prelate will find no fault with such a man at the head of the institution.

Although no one could have foreseen it, the choice of the Spanish priest for prior proved singularly unfortunate. His ways and ideas did not harmonize with those of his American brethren. He did not believe that the work of secular education fell within the limits of the vocation of a Friar Preacher. Thus, for he was a man of strong will, his appointment as superior sounded the death-knell of Saint Thomas' College. Albeit he must have been fully aware of Bishop Fenwick's desire to establish similar institutions at Cincinnati and Canton, Ohio, if not even another at Saint Joseph's, near Somerset, in the same state, Father Muños' first step on his arrival at Saint Rose's was to suppress that with which the Province of Saint Joseph had started. The only explanation of why

30 Muños' testimonial letters signed by Ferdinand M. Pantossa, chaplain to Ferdinand VII, king of Spain (Archives of Saint Rose's).

Bishop Fenwick permitted the reckless deed to be carried out is that he hoped it would enable him the sooner to realize his designs for his own diocese.

The sentiments aroused in the fathers at large by this act of the Spanish prior can not be better expressed than in the words of the annalist of the English Province. On the suppression of its College of the Holy Cross, Bornheim, Belgium, whence sprang that in Kentucky, he wrote: "May God forgive, whoever they were, the authors of a counsel so pernicious to the province. They would have committed a lesser evil, had they reduced the convent to ashes; for such a loss would have been reparable, whilst this injury can never be repaired."[31] Such were now the feelings that filled the breasts of the American brethren.

None could have regretted Father Muños' ill-advised action more deeply than the Father of the Church in Tennessee. Saint Thomas' had become as the apple of his eye. There had he attained the object of his heart's holiest aspirations. He had given the institution many of the best years of his life. Keenly did he realize the good that had come from the college, and the drawback entailed in its closure. Possibly, indeed, its suppression gave him the greatest shock that he ever experienced.

Meanwhile Father Hill, whom Bishop Fenwick regarded as his most efficient missionary, died at Canton, Ohio (September 3, 1828).[32] Father Tuite was sent

[31] Palmer, *Life of Cardinal Howard,* p. 132. "Condonet ipsis Deus, quicumque authores fuere consilii Provinciae adeo perniciosi; damni minus attulissent, si conventum in cineres reduxissent; damnum enim illud reparabile, hoc numquam reparari potest."

[32] For Fenwick's appreciation of Hill see *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi,* III, 298-299, and IV, 506-507. An English rendition of portions of the bishop's letters is given in *Life of Fenwick,* pp. 345-346.

to take his place; whilst Father Miles became pastor at Zanesville, in the same state, in order that Father Stephen H. Montgomery might help at the Cathedral in Cincinnati. Father Samuel Montgomery was called to Saint Joseph's, near Somerset, Ohio, for the missions in that vicinity.

Out of joint with the needs of the young American Church, Father Muños had no sooner closed Saint Thomas' College than he turned his thoughts towards the suppression of Saint Magdalen's Community of Dominican Sisters. Since in Spain he had seen only enclosed nuns of the Order, he felt that the active life of those in America was in contradiction to its true spirit. Furthermore, their hardships astounded him, and he could not understand why they should undergo such unspeakable trials and privations for the education of young girls. He refused to give the sisters mass, or to let confessions be heard in their chapel; which, of course, obliged them, as well as their pupils, to go to Saint Rose's for the sacraments and divine services. Nay, it left them without the Blessed Sacrament, the very source of the joy, strength, and consolation of the religious life.

Curious as it may seem, he pressed them to seek a dispensation from their vows and return to the world, until at least, should they persevere in their wishes, they could begin a community under more favorable auspices. Bishop Fenwick intervened, possibly at the request of Bishop Flaget. Father Muños then reluctantly gave the sisters mass on Sundays, but he would yield no further. Finally, when he discovered their debt and that Father Miles was sponsor for it, he used

this circumstance in order to frighten the vicar provincial over to his views. Doctor Fenwick became anxious about the situation, and he shrewdly determined to make use of it for the double purpose of settling the debts of the sisters and of taking the community to his diocese. However, he soon discovered his error. Father Muños was then recalled to Ohio. Father S. H. Montgomery took his place in Kentucky.[33]

Father Muños' administration at Saint Rose's reflects not the least discredit on him as a priest or religious. He was zealous *ad unguem,* and practised all the mortifications of the fathers of the desert. In his native land he might have made the best of superiors; for, after all, he was a man of tender heart. In America it turned out otherwise. Nevertheless we should not overlook the probability that the excessive penances and labors, which brought on his death, may have incapacitated him for the position which he held in Kentucky. He died in the odor of sanctity at Cincinnati, July 18, 1830, mourned by the entire city. Ohio had no more zealous or tireless missionary; the poor no truer friend.[34]

Tradition, which seems indubitable, assures us that

[33] Flaget to Fenwick, January 16, 1829 (Archives of Saint Rose's Priory); Fenwick to the Most Rev. Joachim Briz, Dominican General, October 10, 1829 (copy, *ibid.*); MINOGUE, *op. cit,* pp. 59 ff.

[34] *United States Catholic Miscellany,* August 14, 1830; *Catholic Telegraph,* May 4, 1848—The *Miscellany* says: "He had laboured on the Ohio missions for nearly six years with the zeal of an apostle. His pleasure consisted in explaining and inculcating the principles of the catholic faith; and, for that end, he spared neither time nor pains. Surrounded by children and others destitute of religious instruction, he would spend weeks in the cabins of the interior to remove ignorance and replace it by the light of revealed truth. In the city of Cincinnati, where he chiefly resided, the poor knew him as another good Samaritan, who never passed them by, without administering all the relief which

Father Miles, by word of mouth before he left Kentucky, and by letters after he went to Ohio, was the good sisters' chief support and counsellor in their period of sore trial. He advised, nay, urged them not to yield in their rights; told them that their resistance, which, however, should be respectful, would not be disobedience; promised them that, with prayer and patience, God would see them happily through the trouble. So it happened, and the zealous Friar Preacher saw in it the divine approbation of the work which he had helped to initiate. Doubtless his influence had its part not only in convincing Bishop Fenwick of his mistake, but also in inducing him, in 1830, to establish a branch of the community at Somerset, Ohio, which has since grown into a prosperous province.

Thus Tennessee's first bishop was connected with Saint Thomas' College from its commencement until its closure—a period of about twenty years. During all this time students attended it not merely from every part of Kentucky, but also from far north, south, and west. None toiled harder or more faithfully in the institution than he; none were better beloved by its pupils, through whom the benefits of his good influence were carried in all directions. His work at Saint Thomas', together with the part that he played in the establishment and conservation of our first community of

his condition afforded, and their necessities required.

"The tears of a large and pious assembly, on the day of his interment, proclaimed aloud that the widow had lost a friend; the orphan an advocate; religion one of its fairest ornaments; and the diocese of Cincinnati one of its most useful missionaries. His memory will live in the grateful and pious remembrance of the numerous friends, who deplore his loss; while their children shall be taught to unite with them in fervent ejaculation for the soul of his departed spirit. M[ullon]."

Dominican Sisters, entitles him to a distinguished place among the early Catholic educators of the United States. In Kentucky, whose Church has had no more zealous priest, even though he did not carry his piety on his sleeve, his name should never be forgotten.

CHAPTER X

MISSIONARY IN OHIO

The great State of Ohio, although more favorably situated than that of Kentucky, was slower to attract the English-speaking settler. Until a few years prior to the French and Indian War, the territory now embraced in that commonwealth seems to have been regarded somewhat in the nature of a buffer space between the Briton on the east and the thinly scattered Gaul to the west, albeit both the French and the English eventually laid claim to its fertile plains. From the close of the American Revolution, when that country became a part of the United States, until 1796, the hostility of the Indians, abetted by the British at the north, caused the stream of home-seekers from the Atlantic seaboard to flow towards the lands south of the Ohio River.

There appears to be little room for doubt that the French were the first white race who set foot on the soil of Ohio. Like the Spanish, they regarded their explorations almost as much in the light of a means of carrying the word of God, the knowledge of Christ, and the way of salvation to the benighted aborigines as in that of an effort to enlarge the domain of their king abroad. With them, as with the Spanish, ever went the priest. Indeed, not infrequently the zeal of the missionary to christianize the Indian led him to outstrip the explorer

and colonizer, and to prepare the way for further progress and conquest.

With the French along the Great Lakes were Franciscan Recollects, secular priests, Sulpicians, and members of the Society of Jesus. As the uppermost parts of Ohio lay along the line of the westward march of their countrymen, it is higly probable that some of these missionaries entered the state in search of souls at an earlier period than is now known. The Jesuits were both the earliest and the most numerous of the pioneer priests in those northern parts. History indicates that they were also the first to sow the seed of the Gospel in what is now, in point of population, the fourth commonwealth in the Union. Still there is no document to show the presence of a Catholic missionary there before 1749, when Father Joseph Bonnécamp, S.J., accompanied Celeron de Bienville on his expedition to lay claim to the territory for France. On this occasion Bienville's travels were a hurried work of political expediency, and nothing indicates that the priest performed any ministerial functions among the Indians, though he must have said mass for his companions.[1]

However, such spiritual labors were not slow to follow. According to Mr. Shea, Father Armand de la Richardie, of the same order, erected "the first shrine of Catholicity within the present limits of Ohio" about 1751. The little wigwam of a church stood on the site now occupied by the City of Sandusky. Fathers

[1] Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States,* III, 330; Houck, *The Church in Northern Ohio* (edition of 1903), I, 2-6; Lamott, *Archdiocese of Cincinnati,* pp. 4 ff. See also Vol. I of Shea's history and *Life of Archbishop Carroll, passim.*

Bonnécamp (mentioned above) and Nicholas Potier are said to have followed their confrère, and to have also labored among the red men along the southern shores of Lake Erie[2] Unfortunately the vicissitudes of war all too soon drove these zealous missionaries from their newest field of harvest in what is now the near-west.

The French and Indian War broke out in 1754. At first, it was largely a religious strife, and a conflict between the British and French colonists. In 1756, the mother countries, these two nations having now become engaged in war, took up the quarrel. Despite his smaller numbers, success attended the Gaul in the beginning of the struggle; but in the end the tide turned in favor of the Briton. The earliest triumphs of the English were in the west, and through them the Catholic missionaries just mentioned were obliged to withdraw into Canada. Quebec fell on September 18, 1759, deciding the fate of the Gallican possessions in North America. By the Treaty of Paris, signed February 10, 1763, France not only ceded to England her claims to the Ohio Valley, but also surrendered the whole of Canada.

From the time of the departure of the Jesuits until the arrival of Father Peter Joseph Didier, the pioneer Benedictine in the United States, at Gallipolis, Ohio probably saw no Catholic clergyman. This was in 1790. He came to take spiritual charge of the ill-planned and unfortunate Scioto Colony. Although a pious and zealous priest, his labors there were of short duration—not more than two years. He built no church. Finding the people of the colony discontented, unruly, and deeply imbued with the principles of the French Revolution, the follower of Saint Benedict soon despaired

[2] See note 1.

of accomplishing any permanent good among them, and possibly became downcast because he had no one to administer to his own soul. For this reason, he journeyed on to Missouri, where he toiled in the cause of Christ until his death.[3]

Fathers Michael B. Barrière and Stephen T. Badin, it will be remembered, stopped at Gallipolis in 1793, while on their way from Baltimore to the missions of Kentucky. But they tarried only three days in the place.[4]

The next missionary who, as far as can be ascertained from records, exercised the ministry in Ohio was the Rev. Edmund Burke. He was a native of Ireland, a man of note, and a priest of the Diocese of Quebec. In the Treaty of Paris, September 18, 1783, Great Britain ceded all the territory south of the Great Lakes to the United States; yet, under futile pretexts, she continued to hold the forts in that part of the country. Even as late as 1795 she erected Fort Miami on the Maumee, near the present Perrysburg, Wood County, northwestern Ohio. The presence of the British soldiers brought Father Burke to that locality, for the occupation of these northern lands by them obscured the correct boundary lines between the dioceses of Quebec and Baltimore. However, Father Burke returned to Canada with the forces of England the year after Fort Miami was built.[5]

[3] Shea, *Life of Archbishop Carroll,* pp. 481-482; Guilday, *Life of Archbishop Carroll,* pp. 395-404; *Catholic Historical Review,* IV, 415 ff ("The Gallipolis Colony," by Rev. L. J. Kenney, S. J.)

[4] Badin (Un Témoin Oculaire), *Origine et Progrés de la Mission du Kentucky,* p. 16.

[5] Shea, *Life of Carroll,* pp. 474-480; Houck, *op. cit.,* pp. 6-7; Guilday, *Life of Carroll,* p. 698; Lamott, *Archdiocese of Cincinnati,* pp. 20-21; O'Daniel, *Life of Fenwick,* p. 192. After leaving Ohio Father Burke

After the Treaty of Greenville, in 1795, and the withdrawal of the British soldiery, in 1796, with the consequent cessation of danger from the Indian and of uneasiness caused by the presence of a foreign enemy, the tide of immigration into Ohio grew steadily. Indeed, it soon assumed enormous proportions, for the report of the state's fertile lands now turned the stream of home-seekers towards the north. At first, they were principally from New England; but it was not long before they began to flow in from many parts of the United States and even from the Old World.[6]

Among the early colonists there were doubtless a few Catholics of whom there is no trace. As often happens under similar circumstances, the most of them must have lost the faith. Perhaps, with the exception of a brief visit of Father Badin at Gallipolis in December, 1807, not from the time of Father Burke's departure, in 1796, until 1808 did a priest enter the limits of Ohio, although its population had grown by leaps and bounds, and the territory had been erected into a state as early as 1802. Jacob Dittoe, a "Pennsylvania German" of Alsatian descent, was an instrument in his coming; the missionary, it will be recalled, was none other than Father Edward D. Fenwick, who went from the monastery in Kentucky where the subject of our narrative was then domiciled.[7]

became titular bishop of Sion and vicar apostolic of Nova Scotia. He died in Halifax in 1820.

[6] RANDALL and RYAN, *History of Ohio*, III, 4 ff; HOWE, *Historical Collections of Ohio, passim.*

[7] For the letters of Jacob Dittoe to Archbishop Carroll begging for a priest see *Life of Fenwick*, pp. 194 ff. Father Badin in a letter to Carroll, begun in Pennsylvania, December 17, 1807, and completed at Bardstown, January 7, 1808, says: "On Christmas day I officiated at Gallipolis, where I found still a spark of faith. That settlement has much declined since

From that year (1808) until 1816, Father Fenwick could do no more for the Catholics in these northern parts than visit them at the most twice in a twelvemonth; but from 1816 he gave them his entire time, finding lodgment wherever he could. Late in 1817, he was joined by his nephew, Father Nicholas D. Young. Because of their poverty and the stress of their missionary labors, the two ambassadors of Christ could find neither the time nor the means to build a home for

I visited it first; but they assure me that there are many Irish Catholic families in the vicinity" (Baltimore Archives, Case 1, I 5). A letter of appeal, discovered since the appearance of *Fenwick's Life,* was also sent to Baltimore in behalf of some Catholics who had come to Ohio from the "Eastern Shore", Maryland. It is signed by Whaland Goodee and Major Philips.

"February 1st, 1807.
"State of Ohio, Ross County, Chillicothe.

"To the Rev. Mr. Carroll,
"Dear Sir:—

"We join our hands as one man in supplication to you, desiring a priest, as there is no teacher of our Church in this part of the country; and if it be convenient for you to send us one, we will do everything that is reasonable to support him. We have made no calculation of what might be collected yearly, as we did not know whether we could be supplied or not. Neither can we give a true account of the number of Catholics, but as nigh as we can come, [it] is betwixt 30 and 40 which came from the Eastern Shore; and, I suppose, numbers from other parts which I am not acquainted with. Dear Sir, if you would be so kind as to make a trial and send a priest, there is nothing [which] would give us more pleasure on account of our children as well as ourselves. Please write as soon as possible.

I am yours with Respect,
Whaland [Goodee—torn off]
and Major Philips.

(*Ibid.* Case 10, I 6).

The fact that Father Fenwick found no Catholics, except three families near Somerset, on his way through Ohio in 1808, and that Bishop Flaget's diary of a similar journey in the fall of 1812 mentions only two Catholic families near Chillicothe and two or three individuals of the faith in the city itself, indicates that these Catholics must have soon gone elsewhere. Possibly they went to Kentucky that they might enjoy the consolations of their religion.

themselves or a temple of prayer for the people until near the close of 1818. However, on December 6, that year, they blessed and opened the mother church and convent of Ohio—Saint Joseph's, about two miles from Somerset, Perry County. Both structures were quite diminutive, and of hewn logs; but they were the birthplace and the cradle of Catholicity in one of the greatest of our American commonwealths.[8]

Fenwick is the father of the Church in Ohio, and the apostle of the state; Young its Paul. The missionaries traversed and re-traversed the territory in every direction. Saint Patrick's, a small, barnlike frame building just outside the city limits of Cincinnati, was apparently opened for use, though perhaps not dedicated, on Easter Sunday, April 11, 1819. Saint Mary's, Lancaster, it would seem, had been made ready for divine service somewhat earlier in the same year. Next in order, about 1820, came a brick warehouse, purchased and fitted up by John S. Dugan, in Zanesville, a town destined to become the center of the second field of labor assigned to the subject of our narrative.[9]

Meanwhile, the report that there were priests in Ohio brought Catholics, principally Irish and Germans, into the state in ever increasing numbers.[10] June 19, 1821, Cincinnati was erected into an episcopal see. Father Fenwick became its first incumbent, but his consecration did not take place until the following January.

[8] *Life of Fenwick, passim.* [9] *Life of Fenwick, passim.*

[10] Bishop Fenwick speaks in more than one of his letters of the great number of Irish and German Catholics flocking into Ohio. The Germans predominated. Quite a number of German descent also came in from Pennsylvania; while not a few descendants of the old English Catholics in Maryland emigrated from that state. In the latter half of his episcopate many French settled in Stark and surrounding counties.

Athough oppressed with poverty of every kind, the anxious prelate was especially bewildered for want of missionaries. During his journey abroad for help, it is true, he secured Father Raphael Muños, of the Order of Preachers, and three secular priests—the Revs. Frederic Rese, (later the first bishop of Detroit, Michigan), John Bellamy, and Peter J. Dejean; while, shortly after his return, he had the happiness of ordaining Father James Ignatius Mullon for the diocese. Bellamy and Dejean he had to despatch at once to the aid of Father Gabriel Richard in Michigan, whence the Rev. Anthony Ganilh had departed. Now (August, 1828), Muños was sent to Kentucky. Father Hill died at Canton a few weeks later; and Father John T. Hynes, at the order of his superiors, had gone to the missions of British Guiana.[11]

Thus there were only eight priests (six Dominicans and two diocesan clergymen) left on the missions of Ohio, though three times that number would have been insufficient for the needs of the diocese. Bishop Fenwick was therefore practically obliged to call Fathers William Tuite, Samuel Montgomery, and Richard Miles from Saint Rose's to aid him in the north.[12] Stephen Montgomery had been transferred to the cathedral at Cincinnati from Zanesville, where he had lately erected a neat brick church, and placed it under the patronage of Saint John the Evangelist.[13] Accord-

[11] *Life of Fenwick, passim.*

[12] The two secular priests then in Ohio were Frederic Rese and James I. Mullon; the six members of the Order of Preachers Stephen H. Montgomery, Nicholas D. Young, John B. De Raymaecker, John H. McGrady, Thomas H. Martin, and Daniel O'Leary. The addition of Fathers Miles, Tuite, and Samuel L. Montgomery raised the number of Dominicans to nine, and the total of the clergy to eleven.

[13] *United States Catholic Miscellany,* February 24, 1827; Sutor, *Past*

ingly, Father Miles was installed as pastor of that parish, with its outlying missions.

The letter removing him from Saint Rose's is dated October 22, 1828, states that his transfer is temporary (*ad tempus*), directs him to report at the episcopal residence in Cincinnati for further orders, and instructs him to begin his journey on the third day of November. The *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi* seem to say that he went first to Canton, and the tradition of Saint Joseph's Province accredits him with a brief pastorship there shortly after the death of Father Hill. However, this can not be proved by the church records of Canton, for they do not go back earlier than 1830, more than a year after the Father of the Church in Tennessee had taken charge at Zanesville.[14]

Father Miles began a new church book at Zanesville, in which his first entry bears the date of December 25, 1828. It is the baptism of Thomas D. and Peter S., sons of Francis and Catherine (Sarchet) Dusouchet—god-parents Thomas William McCaddon and Barbara Dugan. Unless there were an earlier book of records,

and Present of the City of Zanesville and Muskingum County, Ohio, p. 159; *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society,* September, 1914 ("The First Three Catholic Churches in Zanesville, Ohio," by R. J. J. Harkins); *Diocese of Columbus,* p. 263; *Life of Fenwick,* pp. 310 and 323. The cornerstone of this church was laid on March 4, 1825; and it was dedicated, though by no means completed interiorly, on July 2, 1825. The *Diocese of Columbus* erroneously calls it Saint John the Baptist's, instead of Saint John the Evangelist's; while Mr. Harkins seems evidently in error when he places its dedication in 1827.

[14] Archives of Saint Rose's Priory, in Kentucky; records of Saint John the Baptist's, Canton, Ohio; *Annales,* IV, 504; GRAHAM, *A Sketch of Saint John's Parish* (Canton, Ohio), p. 91. Two letters of Bishop Flaget to the prefect of the Propaganda (May 12 and December 12, 1829—Propaganda Archives, Vol. 10) show that Bardstown's prelate complained of Fenwick's calling Miles, Tuite, and S. L. Montgomery to Ohio without consulting him.

now lost, which he used for a time, the above sacrament was no doubt administered within a week or two after our missionary took charge of what was then, though perhaps not so large as a few others, one of the most promising parishes in Ohio outside of Cincinnati.[15]

Be this as it may, the record approximates the beginning of a notable period in Father Miles' life. Doubtless it was no little hardship for him to tear himself away from his beloved Saint Rose's, the good people whom he had helped to guide in the spiritual life for so many years, and the religious community in whose establishment he had assisted. But he was too true and too well-trained a religious to hesitate when the voice of authority had spoken. Nor was his ready obedience to the call for the north slow in its reward. Shortly after the apostolic man's arrival in Ohio, the Rev. John Baptist Clicteur, a newly ordained priest then acting as secretary to Bishop Fenwick, wrote to the *Annales*:[16]

After the death of Father Hill, the bishop, who is the superior general of the Dominicans here in America, wishing to fill his place, withdrew Father Miles from the Dominican convent in Kentucky. Father Miles felt keenly being torn away from the good Kentuckians of Saint Rose's Congregation, to whom he ministered, and begged the bishop to allow him to return thither, when he should have labored a few months in Ohio. The monsignor has placed him at Zanesville, Muskingum County (Ohio). Lately he visited the Catholics in the districts nearest to that city. On his return he wrote to the bishop, expressing himself as follows:

"I have just made my first circuit. I visited several congregations and preached in many places. I baptized a large number

15 Records of Saint Thomas' Church, Zanesville, Ohio.

16 Father Clicteur was ordained in Cincinnati (by Bishop Fenwick) on February 2 1829. At the same time were ordained the Revs. John M. Henni (later archbishop of Milwaukee) and Martin Kundig. Clicteur died on September 18, 1829.

of children and two adults who had never professed any religion, received several Protestants into the Church, and left many others well disposed towards conversion. These last I will admit into the fold on my next tour, when they will be sufficiently instructed.[17] In a word, I have been in Ohio only a few weeks, and already, in spite of the prejudices that I had conceived, I am beginning to feel that I should like to remain here permanently; for I see clearly that the people of Ohio are so well disposed that, if you had sufficient priests, you could make the whole state Catholic." . . .

Some miles distant from Zanesville there is a congregation composed entirely of converts. It has nearly five hundred members. They have lately built a church, which, though small, is quite pretty. Father Miles has visited these people, and made further conversions among them. He says that he remarked a great fervor among them in the service of the Divine Master. May it please heaven to send us a few more priests, and to grant that we may be able to station one in such congregations![18]

The good promises given thus early by our missionary were fully realized. Ohio has had many zealous, efficient, and tireless missionaries who have aided at

[17] The missionaries of those days, owing to their enforced long absences from the various Catholic settlements, were obliged to confide the instruction of their catechumens to the care of the more faithful and intelligent members of the parishes appointed to that duty.

[18] *Annales,* IV, 509-510. This parish which Father Clicteur tells us was so largely composed of converts seems certainly to have been that of Saint Dominic, Beaver Township, Guernsey County, which is spoken of more than once in the literature of that day as a parish of converts. In 1851, Beaver Township was taken from Guernsey County to aid in forming that of Noble, and is now in the extreme northeastern part of the latter county. It would appear that this church was near the present Batesville; for Howe (*Historical Collections of Ohio,* II, 634) gives that village a Catholic church and states: "Catholics are strong in this region. As early as 1825 they erected a log church, which in 1853 was succeeded by a brick edifice at a cost of $8,000." It is now the parish of Temperanceville, just over the border in Belmont County. The *History of the Upper Ohio Valley* (by Bryant and Fuller), II, 783, is certainly in error when it states that the log church was erected in 1822. This work says that the brick edifice (Saint Mary's) was erected in 1854.

one time or another in the building up of her Church. Father Miles ranks high among the best of them. From Zanesville as the center of his apostolic activities he traversed and re-traversed Muskingum, Morgan, Noble, Guernsey, and Coshocton counties. At times his labors carried him into Licking and Knox counties, or to more remote places. Occasionally Bishop Fenwick took him on his own toilsome journeys;[19] for he was no less an agreeable companion than a willing worker, always ready to do whatever he was asked, endowed with the happy faculty of doing it to the best advantage, and quick to detect what needed to be done.

His manners were as gentle and amiable as those of Fenwick himself; his ways of dealing with his fellowmen as open and candid; his zeal as consuming; his charity as broad; his bearing, though stately, as guileless; his deportment as gentlemanly and priestly. These noble qualities were enhanced by a splendid physique—a countenance in which were reflected a great tenderness of heart and sympathetic honesty, no less than a strong character—an untiring energy—and an unaffected piety. His soul went out to all who were in distress, which caused him to seek in every way to aid those who were in need, whether of the goods of this earth or of spiritual consolation. He was notably felicitous in his way of meeting those who were not Catholics.

As he had done in Kentucky, so in Ohio Father Miles soon acquired the reputation of being a good preacher. Where there was no Catholic church, as often happened, he preached in that of the Presbyterians, the Methodists, or other religious affiliation—in courthouses, or

19 The *United States Catholic Miscellany* of January 2, and December 4, 1830, gives two such journeys.

schools, and not infrequently in the open air from a platform in some grove or the public square of a town. Crowds came to hear him, and his strong voice and distinct articulation caused him to be understood by all, even when he spoke outdoors.

Ordinarily, when addressing a non-Catholic or mixed audience, he chose for his topic the spirit of the Church, some point of her doctrine which he wished to prove or elucidate, or which had been misunderstood, or stock accusations against Catholicity. Owing to the fact that he was for the greater part alone in Ohio, only on rare occasions could he there obtain a priest for public discussions of religious matters through questions and answer, like those which he had used with good effect in Kentucky. In both sermon and conversation he was uniformly careful to avoid whatever might wound the feelings of those to whom he spoke, even when he sought to drive home a point with telling force. He was an adept in the combination of strong argument with happy expression, which never failed to win his hearers and to send them away well pleased.

Another trait that characterized the sermons and lectures of the missionary was the simplicity of his style and the use of words that every one could understand. With him it was a case of "he who runs may read." Indeed, it is said that his style mirrored the inner man, gave his discourses an added charm, and rendered them all the more fruitful in good. He rather studiously abstained from attempts at flights of oratory, which he believed tended more to please the ear than to touch the mind and heart, or to bring conviction. For the sermon or lecture eloquent in this sense he felt that he had little talent. Perhaps in this modesty, the

fact that he labored principally in the backwoods of Ohio and Kentucky, his aversion to seeing his name in the public press, and his dislike for notoriety we have the explanation of why he did not become more widely known as a preacher, and was not in greater demand as the speaker on occasions of note.

The above qualities, no doubt, combined to win Father Miles the confidence of those with whom he came into contact in the private walks of life. As a matter of fact, tradition tells us that he effected as much good by his ordinary conversations as from the rostrum; for he was ever on the alert to spread the light of truth. Although retiring by nature, his zeal almost invariably led him deftly to broach the subject of religion to those whom he met by any chance. Often the seed thus sown afterwards blossomed into the flower of Catholic faith.[20]

Bishop Fenwick and Father Hill are commonly given the credit of being the most successful convert makers among the early missionaries of Ohio. Yet the tradition of Saint Joseph's Province is that Father Miles, although not so long in the state as they (nor his riding circuit so extensive as that of the bishop), was perhaps just as effective a worker among non-Catholics. What we know of his character, zeal, and talent for dealing with men justifies such a belief. So should it be noticed that few, if any, of the missionaries in Ohio at that time had a larger territory under their charge. Muskingum, Coschocton, Guernsey, and Noble counties, with parts of Licking and Morgan

[20] These traditions are still happy memories in Saint Joseph's Province and in the Diocese of Columbus (established in 1868). Thirty years ago they were strong and vigorous.

counties, seem to have constituted his parish proper.[21] They kept him almost continually on horseback. In these districts he brought many dissidents into the Church, as well as reclaimed numbers of fallen-away or negligent Catholics, and converted not a few sinners.

Muskingum County, because more thickly populated and containing the greater number of faithful, demanded the principal part of the devoted pastor's time and attention. Indeed, that county alone was more than the most zealous and stalwart messenger of Christ could attend to, if the best results were to be attained. No priest in the Diocese of Cincinnati, we venture to say, could have toiled more diligently or accomplished greater good for the Catholics there than did the subject of our narrative.

How faithfully he labored, no less than how strong a hold he gained on the hearts of the people, is evidenced by the fact that his memory is still held in benediction not merely in Zanesville, but even throughout Muskingum County, albeit it is nearly a hundred years since he exercised the ministry in those parts. One still runs across Catholics who bear the first name of Miles in his honor. The records of the old Dominican parish in Zanesville, now known as Saint Thomas', show a long list of notable pastors and curates. Passing over for the present the Father of the Church in Tennessee, one of them, Father Joseph Sadoc Alemany, became

21 The old *Catholic Almanac* (now called Catholic Directory) and the records of Saint Mary's Church, Temperanceville, Ohio, show that all these places were attended from Zanesville until near the end of 1834, with an exception of a tenure of the Rev. Martin Kundig in Guernsey County from late November, 1832, until the middle of March, 1833. The Rev. James Reid, ordained by Bishop Fenwick on Holy Saturday, April 11, 1832, became pastor of Saint Dominic's, Guernsey County, late in 1834, and records his first baptism on October 31.

the first archbishop of San Francisco. Another, Father Charles Pius Montgomery, was appointed bishop of Monterey, California, but declined the miter. A third, the late lamented Very Rev. Lawrence Francis Kearney, S.T.M., headed the list sent in by the diocesan electors as their unanimous first choice for a successor to scholarly Bishop Waterson in the Diocese of Columbus, Ohio. None of them, however, have been more highly esteemed or more dearly beloved than was Father Miles. Non-Catholics held him in almost as great regard as did those of his own flock.

A musician himself, and ever striving to make the service of God more and more attractive, he gave much attention to the Church music at Saint John's. As a consequence, its choir soon became widely known for its efficiency. A lover of Catholic literature, and desirous of providing his people with good, wholesome reading, he acted as agent for the Catholic papers of the country in all the missions under his charge. In short, zealous and charitable to the fingers' tips, nothing that made for the spiritual advantage of his flock escaped his notice.

In addition to the spiritual blessings it received from him, Father Miles, considering the times and the length of his pastorate there, did much for the Catholicity of Zanesville in a temporal way. One of the first matters that demanded his attention was the erection of a rectory. How well he built it may be seen from the fact that, though enlarged later, it served as a residence for the fathers until five or six years ago. He completed and decorated the interior of Saint John's, placed a graceful little tower upon it, and hung therein the bell which hitherto had swung from a wooden frame in the

yard. When finished the sacred edifice was considered one of the finest in the city.

Another benefit which should not be overlooked was a Catholic school. An educator himself, Father Miles wished the children under his charge to have the advantages of the best education that could be procured; but he wanted it to be obtained under Catholic influences, for he felt that only in this way could their religion and morality be safeguarded, and the highest interests of their souls protected. Accordingly, about 1830, he arranged the basement of his church, where he opened one of the earliest parochial schools in Ohio. Doubtless he would have been delighted to obtain a community of sisters for this purpose; but under the impossiblity of procuring such instructors he had to content himself with lay teachers, over whom he kept a watchful eye.[22]

Despite the expense of these improvements, for he was a practical man, our missionary managed greatly to reduce the debt of the parish. Under his guidance both spirituals and temporals prospered. It was in no small measure due to his administration that the *History of the Diocese of Columbus* could truly state that "Zanesville has always been a stronghold of Catholic faith."[23]

Still another blessing to religion in Ohio in which our ambassador of Christ was deeply interested, even if he were not a prime mover in the enterprise, is recorded in the *United States Catholic Miscellany* of February

22 *Diocese of Columbus,* pp. 261 ff. Even if he had secured sisters for his school, he could have used them only for the girls and small boys, for at that time our nuns did not teach large boys.

23 *Ibid.,* p. 261.

20, 1830. Here that journal's correspondent tells its editor:

> Four Sisters of the Order of St. Dominic, called from their monastery in Kentucky, a few days since, passed through Cincinnati, on their way to Somerset, Perry County, Ohio. They are about to establish a female school in that place near the church of the Holy Trinity. From their qualifications, and devotedness to the cause of moral and religious instruction, much good may be anticipated from their location in the large and respectable congregation of St. Joseph's. The same attention will be paid, by them, to the poor children, as is paid by the Sisters of Charity [in Cincinnati].

Tradition tells us that, almost from the time he was stationed at Zanesville, Father Miles sought to have an establishment of these Dominican Sisters founded in Ohio. One is inclined to think that, could he have had his own way, Zanesville would have been chosen as the place of their location. Possibly he was thwarted in such a design only by the fact that his frequent absences on the missions attended from Saint John the Evangelist's made it impossible for him always to give them mass on Sundays. Be this as it may, there is no room for doubt but that he was delighted with the action of Bishop Fenwick in bringing them into his diocese, and that they frequently sought the missionary's advice and direction as long as he remained in the north.

Bishop Fenwick had accepted the superiorship over his former brethren in religion with reluctance. Naturally, therefore, he was anxious to be relieved of so uncommon and extra-constitutional a position. Besides, especially since his diocesan clergy were on the increase, he must have felt that such a step was demanded by simple justice to the little band of Friars

Preacher. Accordingly, he called a meeting at Cincinnati on April 18, 1831, to which he summoned Fathers Richard P. Miles, Samuel L. Montgomery, Nicholas D. Young, Stephen H. Montgomery, Joseph T. Jarboe, and Charles P. Montgomery. Here, among other things, it was decided that the bishop should ask the Holy See and the General of the Order to accept his resignation as superior of the Dominicans; and that he should propose Fathers Miles and Young respectively as the assembly's first and second choice for the provincialship. This petition was sent to Rome, and the tradition of the province is that it was the unanimous wish of its members that the subject of our narrative would be selected as its head.[24]

Ever cautious Rome is proverbially slow to act. Perhaps in this instance the delay was lengthened by the high regard in which Cincinnati's prelate was held alike by the papal court and the Dominican General, together with a knowledge of the needs of the youthful diocese. Meanwhile the saintly Fenwick fell a victim

[24] Archives of Saint Joseph's Priory, Somerset, Ohio. The petition and letter which Bishop Fenwick sent to Rome on this matter could not be found in the Propaganda Archives or those of the Dominican General. Besides Fathers Clicteur, Henni and Kundig, already mentioned, Bishop Fenwick had ordained the Rev. Edmund Quinn in Cincinnati, January 1, 1830; Fathers J. T. Jarboe, C. P. Montgomery, Charles D. Bowling, and James V. Bullock at Saint Rose's, in Kentucky, June 13, 1830; and Father Samuel C. Mazzuchelli (later one of the most celebrated missionaries of the northwest) in Cincinnati on September 5, 1830. Quinn was a priest of the diocese. The other five were Dominicans; but Mazzuchelli had come to America with the hope of laboring among the Indians. Bowling had been sent to Somerset, and another of the band seems to have been destined for the same place. The Rev. Anthony Ganilh had returned to the diocese, while several seminarians at Cincinnati and elsewhere were nearing ordination. Thus, albeit he still needed many priests, the bishop was no longer in such dire straits, and saw his way to put his former brethren back on their proper footing.

of his zeal at Wooster, Ohio. This occurred on September 26, 1832. There were those who believed that, in view of what the Order had done for religion in the state, the Holy See would probably select his successor from among the Friars Preacher, and hoped that, should such a choice be made, it would fall on Richard Pius Miles.

CHAPTER XI

PRIOR, PROVINCIAL, BISHOP

Leo XII, acting on the agreement between Cardinal Mauro Cappellari and the Most Rev. Joseph Velzi, respectively the prefect of the Propaganda and the Superior General of the Dominicans, had authorized the appointment of Bishop Fenwick as the head of Saint Joseph's Province. In November, 1830, Pius VIII, Leo's successor, died after a short reign. Italy was then in the throes of an agitation excited by the secret societies, notably by the *Carbonari,* and was beginning to be stirred by the influence of French liberalism. The spirit of revolution was ripe everywhere. On February 2, 1831, after a conclave that lasted fifty days, Cardinal Capellari ascended the throne of Peter, taking the name Gregory XVI. On the very day of Gregory's election, the Most Rev. Thomas Ancarani, successor to Father Velzi (who had resigned the office of General in July, 1828, in order to become master of the Sacred Palace), passed to his eternal reward, and was at once succeeded by Father Francis Ferdinand Jabalot.[1]

It is doubtful if the assembly gathered at Cincinnati to discuss the affairs of Saint Joseph's Province were aware of Father Ancarani's demise. Possibly, there-

[1] Alzog, *Manual of Universal Church History,* III, 691 ff; Mortier, *Histoire des Maîtres Généraux de l'Ordre des Frères Prêcheurs,* VII, 472; Taurisano, *Series Magistrorum Generalium Ordinis FF. Praedicatorum,* p. 14.

fore, Fenwick's resignation of the provincialship was sent to him, although it was received by Father Jabalot. At first, the authorities at Rome declined to accede to the request; nay, for more than a year they apparently did not even acknowledge the receipt of the earnest and repeated solicitations of the apostle of Ohio that he might be relieved of so undesirable a burden.

Meanwhile, doubts, based on the constitutions of their institute, had arisen in the minds of the fathers in Kentucky. They believed that the bishop's superiorship had ceased with the resignation of Father Velzi who had appointed him to the office, and felt, quite naturally, that they should now have a provincial taken from the actual members of the Order. Father Miles was sent to Saint Rose's in the capacity of visitor that he might convince them that the Velzi arrangement, because sanctioned by the Holy Father, would have to stand until it was dissolved; and that the bishop was doing all in his power to be freed from the unnatural position.[2]

Finally, November 30, 1832, Father Jabalot wrote to Cincinnati's prelate to notify him that, in compliance with his "wishes and repeated requests," he had accepted his resignation, and would appoint his nephew "vicar provincial *ad beneplacitum Nostrum.*" Four days later, December 3, 1832, the General forwarded letters patent to Father N. D. Young by which he was instituted head of the province.[3]

[2] Bishop Fenwick, Washington, D. C., January 23, 1832, and Cincinnati, April 3, 1832, to Father Thomas Martin, Saint Rose's, in Kentucky (Archives of Saint Rose's Priory).

[3] Jabalot's letter to Fenwick is in Archives of Saint Joseph's, Somerset, Ohio. We could not find the letters patent to Young; but their date is given in a record of the Profession Book at Saint Rose's, and also in a note of Father Stephen Byrne on them in Saint Joseph's Archives.

Doctor Fenwick had died on the twenty-sixth day of the preceding September; but Jabalot's letter to him, as well as the introductory words of the letters patent of Young's appointment, shows that the General was not cognizant of this sad fact.[4] It is evident that a desire to gratify the province's saintly founder was a deciding factor in the nomination of his kinsman to the honorable office of provincial, instead of Father Miles, although the latter had been the Cincinnati assembly's first choice for the place. Doubtless, too, it was felt at Rome that the conferring of this position upon the bishop's nephew would insure the most harmonious relations between the respective heads of the Diocese of Cincinnati and the Province of Saint Joseph.

Despite diligent search, we failed to discover just when Father Young received the letters of his appointment; but they do not appear to have reached America until the spring of 1833. Perhaps the least disappointed man in the province at the General's selection for its head was Father Miles himself, even though, in view of the choice of his brethren, he might with reason have felt that the honor was due to him; for Father Young was a close friend and a zealous priest, while the subject of our narrative desired nothing more than to be left to the even tenor of his ways in laboring for the salvation of souls without the weight of authority.

Zealously did the ambassador of Christ continue his

4 Note of Father Stephen Byrne as in the preceding note. Jabalot's words, as quoted by Byrne, are: "Cum, vacante officio Provincialatus praefatae Provinciae Sancti Josephi in Ditionibus Foederatis in America Septentrionali propter abdicationem Illustrissimi et Reverendissimi Domini Cincinnatensis Ordinis Nostri cujus justissimae petitioni annuendum duximus", etc.

work in Zanesville and on the missions. But his toil there was near its close. After the death of Bishop Fenwick, Father Thomas Martin, who had been superior at Saint Rose's, returned to Ohio. When, therefore, the community met to elect a successor to him, their choice fell upon Father Miles. This was on May 1, 1833.[5] It is worthy of notice that this was the first election of a superior at Saint Rose's, for until then its priors had been instituted by the higher authorities; and it is said that there was but one ballot, and that, when the votes were counted, they were all found to be for Father Miles.

Evidently he and Father Young were in Kentucky at the time, and the provincial hastened to confirm the election—possibly ordered Miles to accept the office; for the new prior presided at an investiture in the habit on May 5, 1833.[6] It would have been impossible at that day for him to receive word in Ohio and reach Saint Rose's between that date and the time of his election. Certain also is it that he then returned to Zanesville in order to arrange his affairs there.

During his absence Kentucky was visited by one of those periodical epidemics of Asiatic cholera which were the dread of the past. It threw all the state into consternation. In the central parts, where lay the principal Catholic settlements, the plague appeared in an especially violent and deadly form. There mourning and desolation were to be seen on all sides. Perhaps none of the parishes were so severely smitten as that of Saint Rose. The cholera broke out in the latter half of May. Father Miles perforce remained in Zanesville

[5] Saint Rose's Profession Book, p. 124.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 4.

until his successor could be appointed; but on the very day of the arrival of Father Charles P. Montgomery he started for the sorely afflicted congregation that had just been placed under his charge.[7]

When the new pastor reached Saint Rose's, he found the people stricken with a terror and bowed with a sorrow such as he had never seen before. His own heart was pierced as with a sword by the suffering and lamentations of the parish. His life-long friend, good, kindly Father William R. Tuite, had succumbed to his zeal, having contracted the cholera while administering to the sick in the first days of the plague, and died in a few hours. This was on May 25, 1833.[8] Without thought of danger to himself, Father Miles, though he had travelled all the way (some three hundred and fifty miles) from Zanesville, Ohio, on horseback, at once threw himself into the thick and thin of the confusion, administering the sacraments, visiting the stricken or convalescent, aiding the poor, consoling the afflicted, or performing whatever other deeds of charity lay in his power.

In these works of mercy our Friar Preacher knew no distinction of race, condition, or creed. The colored slave demanded his attention as readily as the free-born white, the poorest as readily as the richest, those of

7 Baptismal records of Saint Thomas', Zanesville, Ohio. Father Miles' last record is on June 2, 1833, and Father Montgomery makes his first on the same day.

8 Saint Rose's Profession Book, p. 181. It is not stated there that Father Tuite died of the cholera; but it is a tradition, too strong to be doubted, of both Saint Joseph's Province and Saint Rose's Parish that he contracted the disease a few days after its appearance, while administering to the sick, and died in a few hours. For many years the people frequently prayed at his grave, and took earth from it to their homes. They venerated him as a saint.

another religious affiliation as readily as those of his own. Everywhere non-Catholics, stricken with fear and deprived of the consolations of religion, flocked to the priests. Many received baptism on their deathbeds, or came into the Church later as a result of the heroic zeal shown by the missionaries at the time of the epidemic. In the parish of Saint Rose and on its missions Father Miles, because of his happy way of meeting those outside the fold, ordinarily attended to such calls; and it is said that his ministrations bore rich fruit.

It was only natural that, on his return from Ohio, the new prior should find all works suspended at Saint Rose's except those of charity and clerical ministrations. Fathers Polin, Samuel Montgomery, and C. D. Bowling were overwhelmed with calls from near and far; while Father Jarboe, the subprior, had perhaps already installed himself and two lay brothers in Springfield, where nearly the entire population was stricken with cholera at one time. For fear of the dread disease the neighbors could not be induced to wait on the sick and dying, or even to bury the dead. Father Miles multiplied himself, so to speak, that he might lighten the toils of his confrères, no less than aid the suffering and distressed.

In a long letter on the epidemic to the editor of the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi* Bishop Flaget highly praises the zeal of his clergy and the sisters on this sad occasion. But he singles out the fathers of Saint Rose's for special laudation, and lays particular stress on the Springfield incident.

For more than two months [he says] the Dominican Fathers who have charge of the most numerous Catholic congregation in Kentucky gave themselves up to almost inconceivable labors. In

a little town near their convent nearly all the inhabitants, five or six hundred in number, were stricken at the same time with the frightful disease. Consternation became so universal that the sick were left almost entirely to themselves; for the neighbors were afraid to go near a house infected with an epidemic that had become so fatal.

A young Dominican Father, born and reared in Kentucky, though of very delicate health, and already much exhausted by the fatigue and toils of the ministry, betook himself with two lay brothers of his Order to this town thus generally afflicted. Animated with a truly priestly zeal, he threw himself into his work amidst the sick and dying with a courage which was believed to be nothing short of the marvellous, and visited all who were in suffering, whether they were Catholics or non-Catholics. He was welcomed everywhere, for wherever he went he dispersed in abundance those spiritual consolations which mere worldlings can not bestow. Nor did he neglect the needs of the body, and his timely services often saved the sick from death. A number of non-Catholics, who had vainly sought their minister, gave a ready ear to the instructions of the Dominican, accepted the truths which he made known to them, and ended by embracing our holy religion.[9]

The two lay brothers also seemed to multiply themselves in giving medical succor to the sick, but above all in burying the dead. At least eighty persons succumbed to the cholera's ravages, and were carried off in less than fifteen days.[10]

Notwithstanding the considerable losses and expenses which they suffered then, the inhabitants of the village who survived the destructive scourge have insistently asked my permission to buy a lot in the town, to build a church on it, and to bestow these

9 Bishop Flaget does not mention Father Jarboe by name, but the description leaves no doubt about his identity. He had been in very poor health from his student days. At the time of his ordination, three years before, he was so weak that it was necessary for a priest to support him during the ceremony. He had a good knowledge of medicine which he used in aid of the poor throughout his long and useful life. In and around Springfield one still hears the people speak of his labors there at the time of the cholera. See also Volz, *A Century's Record,* pp. 16-17

10 These men were Brother Patrick McKenna and either Brother Patrick Shepherd, or Brother William Peter Hutton.

upon the Dominican Fathers as a fitting acknowledgment of their keen appreciation of the important services which they received from these fathers during the cholera. The Protestants offer to contribute generously towards this twofold act of piety and gratitude.[11] Thus God is pleased to reward his zealous servants a hundredfold even in this world. Although the five Dominican Fathers who showed such great zeal throughout the time that the epidemic lasted were extremely fatigued, nay, exhausted, none of them died. Now, thanks be to God, they are all in good health.[12]

Father Miles had every reason to take an honest pride in the fidelity manifested by his brethren at this lamentable time. The fathers' courage had been tried as it had never been tried before, and to a man they were found true even in the face of death. Similarly he must have been greatly gratified at the heroism shown by the little community of Dominican Sisters in whose establishment he played so important a part, for they yielded to none in courageous deeds during the cholera. Possibly he directed them in their efforts of charity. Of these Bishop Flaget writes:

The Sisters of the Third Order of Saint Dominic have as much claim to the recognition of the public as the Sisters of Charity and the Sisters of Loretto. There being only ten or eleven sisters in the community in Kentucky, they had recourse to a holy ingenuity in order to multiply their forces that they might thus

[11] For some reason the church in Springfield was not erected until 1843. It was dedicated in January, 1844.

[12] *Annales,* VII, 95-96. These five priests were Fathers Miles, Jarboe, S. L. Montgomery, Polin, and Bowling. Father C. P. Montgomery left Saint Rose's for Ohio just before the cholera appeared. Evidently Bishop Flaget overlooked Father Tuite who died at its outbreak. So did he speak in a relative sense, when he said that all the fathers were in good health, for Polin and Jarboe were both quite sickly. It is strange that Spalding (*Life of Bishop Flaget,* pp. 275 ff), although he refers to this letter in the *Annales,* speaks of the labors of others at some length, and mentions a few by name, says not a word about the work of the Dominicans during this epidemic of cholera.

render greater services to the sick in the county in which their convent is situated. They induced women of mature age and known virtue to associate themselves with their works of charity. For many weeks might they be seen at all hours of day or night in those houses where the sick were most numerous, or misery at its height. Not one of them or of their companions died; but all of them were worn out and exhausted beyond the power of words to describe. Without the special protection of divine providence, it would have been impossible for them so long to continue such toils of mercy and compassion.[13]

Happy traditions concerning these heroic labors of the Friars Preacher are still extant in Washington County, Kentucky. Before his transfer to Ohio, Father Miles had been one of the most popular and highly esteemed priests at Saint Rose's. The zeal, courage, and charity that he exhibited throughout the ordeal of the cholera made him still more beloved by the people irrespective of race or creed. This love still exists, and it explains the frequency with which one runs across persons, both black and white, in that part of Kentucky with the first name of Miles, Richard, or Pius.

Another tradition in Saint Joseph's Province tells us that the good judgment, zeal, and other excellent qualities manifested by the subject of our narrative at this trying time so won the heart of Bishop Flaget that the saintly prelate often consulted him on matters of the highest importance. One such affair, it is said, was the choice of a coadjutor to succeed aged Bishop David who had resigned. Bishop Flaget, so the story goes, was undecided whether to urge the appointment of the Rev. Guy Ignatius Chabrat, whose name had

13 *Annales,* VII, 94. Spalding, as in the preceding note, tells of the zeal of the Sisters of Charity and the Sisters of Loretto at this time, but passes over that of the Dominican Sisters.

already been sent to Rome, or to propose that of the Rev. Ignatius A. Reynolds in his stead; and Father Miles advocated the appointment of Chabrat, for he had rendered longer, if not greater, services to the diocese, and, while not a favorite with the clergy, was less unpopular than Reynolds.

Howsoever this be, the tradition is corroborated by Webb's statement that Doctor Reynolds did not enjoy much popularity in Kentucky,[14] and by a paragraph in Spalding's biography of Bishop Flaget. After giving an account of an attack of cholera which brought that prelate to the verge of the grave, Doctor Spalding proceeds to say:

> On his recovery, he continued to feel no little solicitude in regard to his future Coadjutor. The negotiations on the subject were long pending; Rome moved slowly and cautiously in a matter of so much importance. At length, on the feast of the Apostles SS. Peter and Paul,—June 29th, 1834,—the Bulls arrived, appointing Dr. Chabrat Bishop of Bolina, and Coadjutor of Bishop Flaget. The consecration took place on the 20th of July, in the Cathedral of Bardstown; our venerable prelate being the Consecrator, and Bishop David and the Rev. R. P. Miles, O.P., being the assistants.[15]

Certainly the selection of Father Miles for the sin-

[14] *Centenary of Catholicity,* p. 312.

[15] *Life of Flaget,* p. 280. Doctor Spalding, earlier in his volume, tells how Chabrat's name had been sent to Rome sometime before this date, and insinuates that there was opposition to his appointment; but he does not mention Reynold's name. However, we have seen a letter in the Propaganda Archives signed by a number of priests begging that Father Reynolds would not be appointed. Possibly Doctor Spalding does not tell all he knew. See also CLARKE, *Lives of the Deceased Bishops,* III, 286. We have before us photostat copies of four letters of Bishop F. P. Kenrick to Bishop Flaget on the question of proposing Fathers Chabrat and Reynolds as his coadjutor. The originals are in the Louisville Archives, and were written at Pittsburgh, November 5, 1832, and at Philadelphia, August 6, 1832, September 17, 1833, and January 4, 1834.

gular distinction of assistant to the consecrating prelate, together with the necessity of obtaining faculties from Rome for him so to act, when there were bishops as near as Saint Louis and Cincinnati, and priests of high standing who belonged to the diocese, not only shows the favor in which our Friar Preacher was held, but also lends credence to the tradition just mentioned. As a matter of fact, Saint Rose's prior had become one of the best known and most esteemed clergymen in Ohio and Kentucky.

Quite naturally, the sorrow and desolation which the cholera left in its wake threw a pall of gloom over the parish of Saint Rose for some months afterwards. From house to house the kind-hearted pastor made his way on foot or on his faithful horse, consoling the afflicted, cheering the disconsolate, encouraging the timid, succoring those left in want. Everywhere were his visits received as those of an angel of mercy who spread blessings as he passed along. The poor colored people were an object of his special solicitude. One can but hope that the traditions of the good thus accomplished by our gentle ambassador of Christ will continue to be handed down from generation to generation, for seldom perhaps has charity ever been dispensed with greater tenderness, or more beneficially to religion.

No doubt the readiness with which the people of the parish responded to his efforts helped to sustain his energy, as well as enabled him to proceed with his pastoral work with a lighter heart. But even to outline his parochial labors, apart from his toils in connection with the cholera, during the three years of priorship at Saint Rose's were merely to repeat what has been told in previous chapters of his exertions along the same

lines both there and in Ohio. Suffice it then to state that, under his kindly leadership, the fathers diligently collaborated with him in the cause of souls; religion flourished; and the faithful were delighted at the zeal with which the way of salvation was kept open for them.

No less a true son of Saint Dominic than a faithful pastor of souls, Father Miles showed the greatest concern about the religious observances of the community. They were carried out with a regularity and promptness that were a source of edification to all. He himself set the example; for he felt that, as superior, he should lead the way which he wished the others to follow. When at home rarely did he miss the conventual exercises; nay, he would put himself to almost any inconvenience that he might be present at them. Generally he was the first to appear in choir and at mass. In the internal government of the priory, with the exception of wearing the tonsure, he is said to have followed Father Wilson as his model, whose name he seldom mentioned without the qualification of "happy memory," and whose ideals he ever held up to his brethren as an inspiration.[16]

Doubtless the future bishop was glad to be again in a house which he so greatly loved, and among a people for whom he had a special affection. However, Saint Rose's without Saint Thomas' College could hardly have been to him what it had been to him in times past with an institution in which his heart was wrapped up for many years, and which he felt exercised a strong influence not only for the good of his Order,

[16] One not infrequently sees "of happy memory" after Father Wilson's name.

but also for the advancement of religion and Christian education. An early page will disclose that he cherished a hope of soon seeing the error of closing the College of Saint Thomas of Aquin rectified, if not even that of effecting its re-establishment.

Another source of joy afforded by his return to Kentucky was the opportunity which it gave him of further aid to Saint Catherine's Community of Dominican Sisters. He sought in every way to help them. Their annals join with tradition in telling us that this joy was mutual; and they show that the community still cherishes his memory in gratitude for his effective sympathy.[17]

Father Miles' missionary life in Ohio added to his reputation as a harvester of souls. No doubt this fact had its part in broadening his labors in Kentucky at the present period; for we now find him, in answer to calls from his brother priests of the diocese, journeying hither and thither in many parts of the state for sermons, retreats, spiritual exercises, or other functions of the ministry. Everywhere his efforts were productive of good; nowhere did he fail to please either the clergy or the laity. His name was known and honored throughout the Mississippi Valley.

Albeit Father N. D. Young, the provincial, had secured the erection of Saint Joseph's, Somerset, Ohio, into a convent as early as 1834,[18] he seems to have continued to govern that institution himself until 1836, for missionary labors and the lack of priests made it difficult to institute another superior. Father Miles'

[17] *Pages from a Hundred Years of Dominican History*, p. 76.

[18] Letters patent dated December 23, 1834 (Archives of Saint Joseph's Priory).

term of office in Kentucky expired on May 1, that year. Accordingly, he now became prior of Saint Joseph's, and appears to have been the first to hold the position there. In view of the fact that the selection of the first prior of a convent belongs to the provincial, and in default of documents to the contrary, we are inclined to believe that he was appointed to that office by Father Young, rather than elected by the community. Be this as it may, no better choice, nor one more welcome to the fathers, could have been made.[19]

Thus the Father of the Church in Tennessee now took up his residence at the mother church and convent of Ohio, which brought him into still more immediate touch with the beginnings of Catholicity in that state than his earlier stay at Zanesville. Here he showed the same zeal that had characterized his apostolate in his previous fields of labor, and won the affections and esteem of all with whom he came into contact. The records show that, though prior, he took his turn with the other fathers on the missions attended from the monastery. It was another broadening of his views and experience, albeit he toiled there for only a short time. In its obituary notice of the bishop the *Catholic Telegraph* says: "For many years he was pastor of congregations in Somerset and Zanesville in this diocese, where his zeal for the spiritual and temporal welfare of his flock and his most kind and genial manners will never be forgotten."[20]

Father Young's appointment as provincial by the

[19] We have not been able to find any document of Father Miles' appointment or election as prior of Saint Joseph's; yet it is certain that he became prior there immediately after the expiration of his term of office at Saint Rose's.

[20] Edition of February 25, 1860.

Most Rev. Francis F. Jabalot read "Subject to Our will" (*ad beneplacitum Nostrum*). This General died in March, 1834. On May 26, 1834, his successor, the Most Rev. Benedict Maurice Olivieri, reappointed Father Young to the same office, placing the term of his office on the Monday following the third Sunday after Easter, 1837, which Monday fell that year on the seventeenth day of April. In February, 1835, Olivieri resigned the post of General for that of Commissary of the Holy Office, and was succeeded by the Most Rev. Thomas Hyacinth Cipolletti, whom Bishop Fenwick had sought to have appointed his coadjutor in Cincinnati.[21]

Meanwhile, Father Young either grew weary of his responsibility, or felt that Father Miles would make a more effective leader for the province; for, if we may judge from a letter of Cipolletti, he wrote to that General more than once, praising the virtue, zeal, prudence, religious spirit, and ability of the future bishop, and suggested that it would be well to appoint him provincial. But Father Cipolletti decided that the incumbent should continue in office for the time specified in his nomination. Furthermore, the General determined to give the fathers of the province their first opportunity to elect their own provincial. He therefore instructed Father Young to convoke a chapter for this purpose at the close of his provincialship.[22]

21 Letters patent of Young's appointment (Archives of Saint Joseph's Priory); TAURISANO, *Series Magistrorum Generalium*, p. 14; MORTIER, *Histoire des Maîtres Généraux*, VII, 474-476; *Life of Fenwick*, pp. 261-262, 303.

22 Cipolletti to Young, October 9, 1836 (Archives of the Dominican General: copy in Archives of Saint Joseph's Province). Father Cipolletti simply signs this letter "Magister Ordinis"; but there is no doubt about its authorship.

Pursuant to the General's instructions, the capitular fathers met at Saint Rose's on April 17, 1837. They were the Revs. N. D. Young, R. P. Miles, J. T. Jarboe, S. L. Montgomery, T. J. Polin, J. V. Bullock, C. P. Montgomery, C. D. Bowling, James Hyacinth Clarkson, and Joseph Augustine Wilson.[23] Father Young, in accordance with the General's orders, presided at the opening of the chapter. Their first act was to elect (by secret ballot) Fathers Miles and Jarboe and the two Montgomerys definitors, or the law-making body of the assembly. Possibly because it was really the first provincial chapter held in the province, several days were devoted to a consideration of its needs. One subject discussed was certainly the establishment of a college.

Finally, they came to the selection of a new provincial. This was on April 22, 1837, and Father Miles was elected on one ballot. One of the assembly, possibly waiting to see the trend of affairs, evidently abstained from voting, for only nine votes were cast. Of these Father Miles received seven, and Father Polin two. Miles, we may take it for granted, gave his suffrage to Polin. Thus the subject of our narrative was elected provincial by a practically unanimous vote. The reader need hardly be told that the chapter proved a source of great rejoicing.[24]

[23] A number of these men had no constitutional right to take part in the chapter; from which we conclude that the General, in a subsequent letter (now lost), extended this privilege to all the fathers in order that the first election of their highest superior might the better represent the wish of the province as a whole. This supposition is borne out by an article in the *Catholic Advocate* of May 13, 1837. However, some of them did not attend the chapter. Doubtless they remained away lest the missions should suffer from their absence.

[24] Manuscript acts of the chapter (Archives of Saint Joseph's Province).

In his letter to Father Young the General had ordained that, although the document of election should be sent to him for confirmation, the one chosen for provincial should take up the office immediately that he was elected. Father Miles, therefore, began to fill that position on April 22, 1837. It is said that the province commenced at once to experience beneficial effects from his administration.[25]

The chapter had taken up the question of a college, but deferred it for fuller consideration later. Father Miles, however, began to press the matter immediately that he assumed office; for the *Catholic Advocate* of May 13, 1837, speaking of the Dominicans and the election of their new provincial, says: "It is understood that they intend to establish a public College next year. Although the Order is more especially instituted for preaching and other duties of the ministry, yet it is considered that the education of youth may be made instrumental in preparing their members for the proper discharge of this most important duty." Doubtless the presence of two such institutions near Saint Rose's determined the selection of Saint Joseph's, in Ohio, for the undertaking. The following notice in the *Catholic Almanac* of 1838 must have been sent in to the editor some time before the close of the previous year.

> There is a college now in progress of building on the convent grounds [at Saint Joseph's], which will soon be finished, and will afford young gentlemen as many facilities of acquiring a thorough English, Classical and Mathematical education as are enjoyed in other literary institutions of the Union. The prospectus of this establishment will be published next year.[26]

25 See note 22. See also *Catholic Advocate*, May 13, 1837, which shows Father Miles acting in the capacity of provincial.

26 Page 98.

Doubtless Father Miles foresaw that, under the existing circumstances, this enterprise would demand no little courage and sacrifice; but he was not one who would be deterred from any good by such difficulties. Meanwhile, Bishop Purcell, who had strange ideas of the life and privileges of religious, wrote to the new provincial to send the priests at Saint Joseph's to Cincinnati for the diocesan retreat, although they made one in their convent every year. The extraordinary and uncanonical procedure brought forth a reply from Father Miles which reveals the quiet, gentle strength and prudent tactfulness of the man, no less than the poverty of the community.

Right Rev. Sir:—

It would afford us great pleasure to comply with the request made by your Reverence that all the clergy should meet at Cincinnati for the purpose of making a spiritual retreat; but it would be attended with great difficulty on our part. Our very limited means render it morally impossible that we should all attend. We have heretofore been accustomed to make our retreat annually at Saint Joseph's. Should it please your Reverence to permit us to continue our accustomed course, it would be regarded as a great favour. If expedient, two of us will attend the Synod, as was our practice in Kentucky.

A line from your Reverence, expressing your pleasure on this subject, will be gratefully acknowledged.

With sentiments of the highest esteem and respect,

Right Rev. Sir,

I am your very obedient servant,

R. P. Miles, Provincial.

Somerset, October 28, 1837.[27]

Father Cipolletti seems to have received the document of the future bishop's election as provincial only late in the summer or early in the fall of 1837. October 1,

[27] Archives of Notre Dame University.

the same year, he sent a letter to the fathers of the province congratulating them on the choice they had made for their leader; and another similar in character to Father Miles himself.[28] Cipolletti was a superior man in every way. Nothing lay nearer to his heart than the welfare of the religious institute over whose destinies he presided. Perhaps none of the Generals, with the possible exception of Father Gaddi who established it, showed so friendly an interest in Saint Joseph's Province for many, many years after it came into existence. No doubt this kindly concern inspired the two documents just mentioned, both of which are delightfully paternal and encouraging.

Cipolletti's letters could not but have been a source of inspiration to the new provincial. Unfortunately an event had already occurred, though apparently still unknown to either the subject of our sketch or his confrères, which was not merely to thwart these good promises, but likewise to cast a gloom over the province. Bishop Flaget had long desired to have his diocese limited to the State of Kentucky. After the lopping off of Illinois and Indiana through the erection of the See of Vincennes, in 1834, only Tennessee, a domain wherein Catholicity had been sadly neglected, remained to be separated from Bardstown's original jurisdiction in order that the saintly prelate's wish might be realized.

When, therefore, the American hierarchy assembled at Baltimore, April 16-23, 1837, for the third provincial council held in that city, Bishop Chabrat urged the erection of Tennessee into an episcopal see, and asked

28 Copies in the handwriting of Father Stephen Byrne (Archives of Saint Joseph's Priory).

that Father Miles be nominated its head. Indeed, apart from the tradition of Saint Joseph's Province, there are reasons for believing that Doctors Flaget (then in Europe) and Chabrat had agreed on both these propositions prior to the assembling of the council, if not even before the former started abroad, in 1835. Accordingly, the prelates of the council requested the Holy See to erect the Diocese of Nashville, and placed Father Miles' name at the head of the list of priests which they forwarded for the selection of a worthy bishop for its government.[29]

In answer to the appeal of the Baltimore council Gregory XVI issued the Brief *Universi Dominici Gregis,* making Nashville an episcopal see, and the Bull *Apostolatus Officium,* by which Father Miles was appointed its first bishop. Both documents bear the

29 Shea, *History of the Church in the United States,* III, 608, 656; Clarke, *Lives of the Deceased Bishops,* II, 149; *Year Book of St. Mary's Church,* Memphis, 1908, p. 47; *Facts* (Chattanooga, Tennessee), August 18, 1894. Two letters of Bishop Francis P. Kenrick show that the vote of the Baltimore council was unanimous. At the same time, they prove that Doctor Kenrick had not lost his former prejudice against the Father of the Church in Tennessee. In that to Cardinal Fransoni (April 26, 1837—Propaganda Archives, America Centrale, Vol. XII) he tells the prefect of the Propaganda that he would not have given his consent to Miles' nomination, had not Bishop Chabrat "lauded his piety, zeal, and other gifts so highly." Practically the same assertion is made in a letter (May 22, 1837) of Kenrick to the Rev. Paul Cullen, then rector of the Irish College, Rome, and later cardinal archbishop of Dublin (*Records of the American Catholic Historical Society,* VII, 295). As Doctor Kenrick was so anxious to express his views about Doctor Miles, he can not object to another recording a doubt whether the learned third bishop of Philadelphia would have had the courage to face the task which confronted the apostolic first bishop of Tennessee. Afterwards, however, this bias was succeeded by admiration. See *An American Apostle* (Life of Very Rev. M. A. O'Brien), pp. 141-142. The high regard in which the other bishops of the council held Father Miles is further shown by the fact that they also placed his name on the list of priests proposed for Natchez.

date of July 28, 1837, were forwarded to America at the same time, and reached Baltimore late in October.[30] This action of the Holy See brought consternation to Saint Joseph's Province of Dominicans, for the fathers felt that, in their state of poverty and with their small number of priests, they could not afford to lose so valuable a man. To them their beloved provincial seemed simply indispensable.

We remember reading some years ago a letter of Father Thomas Martin, one of the most unselfish and efficient of Ohio's early missionaries, in which he rather indignantly complained against the appointment. He declared that, if they were determined to make Father Miles a bishop, they should have had him appointed successor to Fenwick in Cincinnati, so that he could have collaborated with his brethren, instead of sending him to Nashville, where his services would be lost to them altogether. What Miles himself thought about his nomination is evident from the following reply to Bishop Purcell.

Somerset, [Ohio], November 9, 1837.

Right Rev. dear Sir:—

Your favour of the third instant reached me this morning. I am apprehensive that my nomination to the See of Nashville will prevent any of our Fathers from joining you either in the retreat or synod. If I must accept, it will be necessary that we should meet in council and attend to the affairs of the Order, which will be much affected by my removal; and there will be no time to lose, as in that case I must hasten to adjust my affairs here and return to St. Rose.

The loss of any efficient member of the Order at this time will be severely felt; and I do not see how I can in conscience accept,

30 Archives of the Secretary of Briefs, Vol. 4929, Vatican Palace, Rome; Hernaez, *Coleccion de Bulas, Breves y Otros Documentos,* etc., II, 794; *Bullarium de Propaganda Fide,* V, 163.

without compulsion. The Archbishop has informed me officially of my nomination, and I have requested him to send on the Bulls and other documents which he says are in his hands. If these contain a formal precept, I then have no choice; but if left free, I shall certainly remain so.

I do not feel disposed to complain of my superiors, but I think there has been a strange blunder committed in my nomination. How could it ever have entered into the mind of any one to appoint a poor Religious, who cannot command one cent, in case he accepts, to a See where there is neither a church nor a clergyman, nor any means, that I know of, to procure either. I shall not even have a book except my breviary; and my brethren are not obliged to supply me. And in case I am taken from them without their consent, they will be illy disposed to assist me. Unless, therefore, the will of God manifests itself in a manner that I cannot resist without [sin?],[31] I shall feel myself bound under sin to refuse. May His holy will be done.

I am,

Right Rev. dear Sir,

Yours sincerely,

R. P. Miles, O.P.,

Provincial of the Province of St. Joseph.

Right Rev. Dr. Purcell.[32]

This document speaks for itself. It is straightforward, to the point, brief, strong, and clear; it breathes the true spirit of humility, obedience, and respect for authority; it reveals a well-poised mind and a noble character without self-interest, no less than a soul possessed of much kindly strength; it marks a superior under whom one would rejoice to live and to labor.

Evidently another Friar Preacher wrote a letter of protest to the Order's General. Most likely this was N. D. Young, who wielded a ready pen; and he

[31] A word is torn out here, and the word sin, which suggests itself, would just fit in the missing space.

[32] Archives of Notre Dame University.

doubtless did so as much at Miles' request as of his own accord—perhaps even in response to the entreaty and in the name of his confrères. Quite possibly, so strong was the desire to retain their provincial, the letter was signed by every professed member of the province. At any rate, on January 2, 1838, Father Cipolletti wrote to the fathers in general, stating that, because of their great loss, he himself was overwhelmed with grief when informed by his Eminence James Philip Cardinal Franzoni, prefect of the Propaganda, that Miles had been preconized bishop of Nashville. However, Cipolletti feared then, and still fears, to protest against the appointment; but if Father Miles himself will write directly to the Holy Father, begging to be relieved from such an honor for the good of the province and the American missions, then the General, in case his opinion is asked, will do whatever he possibly can in the matter.[33]

Although, owing to the sacred secrecy under which the Propaganda guards its documents of less than a hundred years of age, we have discovered no letter on the subject from the bishop elect to Gregory XVI, other sources show that he followed Father Cipolletti's suggestion, and apparently made more than one urgent appeal to be freed from the glory of the miter. In fact, despite his strong opposition, the affair dragged on for nearly a twelvemonth. Rome's inflexibility indicates that "the striking testimony" (*praeclarum testimonium*) which Gregory declares in the bull of appointment he has received "from the late provincial

33 Copy in Father Stephen Byrne's handwriting (Archives of Saint Joseph's Priory). In this letter Cipolleti appoints Father Young provisional provincial, so that the province may not be without a head.

synod of Baltimore of his [Miles'] piety, moral integrity, learning, and zeal and labor for the propagation of religion" continued to be urged at the papal court by persons anxious for his nomination. Possibly Bishops Purcell and Chabrat—and even Bishop Flaget himself, who was then in Europe—were the responsible parties.

Meanwhile, Father Miles labored on with the affairs of the province; but his state of uneasiness stood in the way of his efforts for its advancement. The project which suffered the most from his appointment to a bishopric was that of the proposed new college, for it was not put into execution until more than ten years afterwards. When the positive order finally came from the Vicar of Christ that he must accept the dreaded dignity, he gracefully bowed to the will of heaven, and wrote to Bishop Rosati of Saint Louis:

Right Rev. and dear Sir:—

Having lately received a letter from the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda, in which his Eminence informs me that the Holy Father insists on my accepting the arduous office of Bishop, I have consented to do so. The consecration will take place on the sixteenth of September, in the Cathedral of St. Joseph, at Bardstown. It is my wish that your Reverence would be present on the occasion. Should it suit your convenience to confer this honor on one so unworthy, it will be regarded as a great favour, and one not to be forgotten. In the mean time I beg a share in your prayers and sacrifices.

I am,

Right Rev. and dear Sir,

with sentiments of high esteem,

Your Reverence's humble servant and brother in Jesus Christ,

R. P. Miles,

Bishop elect of Nashville.

Bardstown, August 22, 1838.
Right Rev. Dr. Rosati,
Bishop of St Louis.[34]

Father Miles had no doubt gone to Bardstown, immediately on the receipt of his orders from Rome, to inform Bishops David and Chabrat of his acceptance of the miter, and to engage the venerable David to perform the august ceremony of consecration; but the aged prelate felt that he was too feeble to undertake so long and arduous a rite. Then it was agreed that the honor should go to Doctor Rosati as the next senior bishop in the west. There also it was doubtless decided that the event should take place in Bardstown, on September 16, and that invitations should be extended to only the nearest ordinaries, for Father Miles had little taste for personal display, and his heart was too sad for exaltation. Bishops Flaget and Purcell were in Europe; but Bishop Kenrick of Philadelphia was invited because he had been a priest in Kentucky. When the reverend editor of the *Catholic Advocate* received the news he wrote:

We have been very much gratified to learn that the Right Rev. Dr. Miles, some months since nominated by the Holy See to the newly erected See of Nashville, has, in consequence of letters just received from Rome, accepted the appointment. We have received no intelligence lately which has rejoiced us more. The Catholics dispersed throughout the State of Tennessee have long been in need of more spiritual aid than it has been in the power of the Bishop of Bardstown to extend to them. From the known talents, acquirements, and zeal of Bishop Miles we most confidently anticipate a rich harvest of spiritual blessings to his new flock. His appointment has afforded universal satisfaction, both to the Catholic Clergy and Laity, and to all who are acquainted with him.

[34] Diocesan Archives of Saint Louis.

The Consecration of Dr. Miles will take place in St. Joseph's Cathedral, on Sunday the 16th of September. The Right Revs. Drs. Rosati, Kenrick and Bruté have been invited, and are expected to attend on the occasion. Dr. Miles earnestly invites all the Regular and Secular Clergy of Kentucky to be present at the ceremony. We hope that all those whose occupations may allow will comply with his request.[35]

The Catholic papers of the country evinced no little delight when copying the *Advocate's* statement. For instance, the *Catholic Telegraph,* Archbishop Purcell's diocesan organ, in its issue of September 6, 1838, declares: "Our feelings of gratification and joy are in unison with those which our friends of the *Catholic Advocate* express in the following announcement." Similarly, the *United States Catholic Miscellany,* conducted by Bishop England himself, says, on September 8, 1838: "We copy the following very gratifying intelligence from the *Catholic Advocate* of Bardstown, of August 25. The last Provincial Council recommended the creation of the Diocese [of Nashville] and the appointment of Doctor Miles."

Doubtless Father Miles looked forward to the event in fear and trembling, for he was to receive a dignity and to take upon himself a responsibility which he dreaded. Because of their intrinsic interest, no less than because of their place in our narrative and in the history of the Church in Tennessee, we must not omit two accounts of the consecration by eye-witnesses. One is evidently by a clergyman, the other by a chance spectator who was not of the faith. The first must have been prepared with considerable care, for it reached the *Catholic Advocate* too late for the issue immediately

35 Edition of August 25, 1838. Bishop Kenrick did not attend the consecration.

following the event, which appeared on Septembr 22, 1838, and could not be published until that of the twenty-ninth of the month.

THE CONSECRATION
OF THE RIGHT REV. R. P. MILES, D. D.

This splendid ceremony took place in St. Joseph's Cathedral on last Sunday morning. At an early hour, the church was crowded to overflowing. When everything had been prepared, the procession of the Bishops and clergy moved in order from the Sacristy to the Sanctuary. The Right Rev. Joseph Rosati acted as Bishop Consecrator, and he was assisted by the Right Rev. Dr. Chabrat, Bishop Coadjutor of Bardstown, and the Right Rev. Dr. Bruté, Bishop of Vincennes. The Right Rev. Dr. David had been invited by the Bishop Elect to officiate as Bishop Consecrator, but his great age and growing infirmities prevented his acceptance of the invitation. The venerable old man however assisted at the function in which he was not able to participate.[36]

The Very Rev. Stephen T. Badin officiated as assistant Priest; the Very Rev. E. J. Durbin as Deacon; the Rev. Mr. [Charles] Blanc as Subdeacon;[37] the Rev. M. J. Spalding, D.D., as Notary, read the Bulls of Consecration; and the Rev. F. Evremond, S.J., and the Rev. W. E. Clark acted as Masters of Ceremonies. The Rev. S. H. Montgomery and the Rev. Joseph Haseltine assisted the Bishop Elect as Chaplains. Many of the clergy of the Diocess, both regular and secular, were also present, and aided in the functions of the solemn sacrifice.

The impressive and splendid ceremonies of the church, in the consecration of Bishops, were heightened in their effect by the

[36] It was fortunate that Bishop David did not undertake to be the consecrating prelate; for in a letter, written Septemebr 17, 1838, to Sister Elizabeth, Union County, he tells her that a slight attack of illness obliged him to leave the sanctuary " about the preface" (Archives of Nazareth Academy, Bardstown).

[37] Through an oversight, when giving a brief account of Bishop Miles' consecration in *An American Apostle* (page 59), we stated that this priest was the Rev. Anthony Blanc, later archbisop of New Orleans. Doctor Blanc was consecrated in 1835. The man mentioned here belonged to the Diocese of Bardstown.

manner in which they were performed. All admired the perfect ease and self-possession; the gravity, the dignity, and unction with which the venerable Consecrator, the Right Rev. Dr. Rosati, performed all the lengthy functions of the day. There is in his voice and whole manner something peculiarly impressive and moving—something that decorates and sets off in its proper form the splendid ceremonial of our church.

All were impressed, too, with the appearance of the Bishop Elect. Though deeply affected, he went through the whole ceremony with firmness, self-possession and dignity. Whether making his solemn profession of faith in the hands of the consecrating Bishop, or answering the solemn questions propounded to him in regard to his future conduct—whether prostrate in prayer at the foot of the altar, imploring the prayers of the Saints in heaven, or receiving the imposition of hands from the Bishops, and being anointed with the mystic unction—the emblem of his consecration to God—whether bearing the Book of the Gospel upon his neck, as the yoke which he was in future more especially bound to bear; or, clad in all the insignia of his episcopal office, walking processionally through the congregation and giving his benediction—throughout the whole solemn functions, he awakened a deep interest in all present.

The consecration sermon was preached by the Very Rev. John Timon. It was an appropriate and excellent discourse on the ministry established by Jesus Christ. He proved from natural reason and the Scriptures that Christ established a regular gradation amongst the ministers of his church—that to their charge He had entrusted the sacred deposit of faith and of the sacraments, and that to their judgment are the faithful to attend, if they do not wish "to be tossed to and fro by every wind of doctrine." His address to the Bishop Elect at the close of the discourse was full of unction and tenderness. He alluded to the difficulties and trials with which he would have to contend in his new Diocess, and hoped that the same success might crown his labors as had crowned those of the Right Rev. Bishops Flaget and Rosati, who, in a few years, had reared such beautiful monuments to religion.

Bishop Miles expects to be in Nashville on Sunday, the 14th of October. Truly, he goes like the Apostles, without *purse or scrip, or money in his girdle*: but we hope and trust that he has a large

portion of *their* spirit, and that his zealous labors will be crowned with similar success. He will bear with him the kind wishes and the prayers and tears of many friends. God prosper him in his arduous labors! ![38]

The second account is taken from *The Record* which reprinted it some years ago from a source unknown to us. First, its writer, evidently a visitor in Bardstown, tells how he accidentally heard on the morning of September 16, 1838, that a Catholic bishop was to be consecrated in the cathedral that day. So great was his curiosity to witness the ceremony that he deferred his breakfast and hastened to the church at the first sound of the bell. But the bell was for an early mass, through which the good man remained in the vain hope of seeing a bishop consecrated. However, he was rewarded by the sight of an extraordinary manifestation of piety on the part of the worshippers at mass and in receiving holy communion. He records his impressions at length, and then proceeds to say:

I ascertained, before leaving the church for my breakfast, that the ceremony of consecration, which I had so much anxiety to witness, was to commence at ten o'clock. Before the hour arrived, the bell, whose solemn sound I had previously admired, seemed to thunder into my ears *audi verbum Domini.* I returned to the church. It was pretty well filled; I seated myself in an eligible pew, convenient to the altar and the pulpit. Presently there entered about one hundred of the students of St. Joseph's College, and ascended to the gallery. Soon was every pew filled to overflowing—not a seat was vacant.

38 *Catholic Advocate,* September 29, 1838. It should have appeared in the previous edition—September 22. It is worthy of note that the Rev. Martin John Spalding, who acted as notary for the consecration, later became bishop of Louisville and archbishop of Baltimore; while the Rev. John Timon, who preached on the occasion, afterwards became the first bishop of Buffalo.

At this point in his account the spectator tells of the entrance of some one hundred and thirty young ladies from Nazareth Academy, who occupied seats prepared for them in front of the pews. The tribute which he pays them and the noted institution which they represented is beautiful, but it can scarcely be said to have formed a part of the ceremony. Consequently we pass on to the rest of the article which states:

Presently a throng, robed in all the sublime splendor of the Catholic ritual, crowded into the sanctuary, amongst whom were four who had already been honored with the Mitre. I regret exceedingly that my intimacy with the Catholic liturgy does not enable me to picture the character of this truly sublime and imposing ceremony. Of the number who thronged the sanctuary, one of the mitred dignitaries performed the sacrifice of the Mass, which I discovered to be intimately connected with the consecrating service. His appearance of itself was imposing. He seemed to be officiating in that place for which he was intended by nature; his manner, so graceful and dignified, seemed to add much to the impressive scene. His intellectual countenance appeared as though he was alone with subjects celestial in their nature.

During the consecration, the *Litaniae Sanctorum,* together with many other hymns in Latin and English, were chanted. The music awakened every sense of my understanding, aroused every feeling of my soul, and pealed into my heart this truth, that homage is due from man to the Author of his being. I wondered not, after listening to this music, that Orpheus of old harmonized the passions of the Grecians, and subdued the ferocity of the beasts, and even tranquilized the tortures of the infernal regions.

After the Gospel was read, one of the sacred order, having invoked a blessing from above, retired from the thronged sanctuary and ascended the pulpit. He delivered a short but truly eloquent and appropriate sermon, and returned to afford an opportunity for the continuance of this mysterious and certainly interesting part of the Catholic liturgy. An offering, apparently consisting of loaves and small casks of wine, was made by the new Bishop to the Prelate Consecrator, in accordance with their ancient and

THE RIGHT REV. RICHARD PIUS MILES, O. P.

peculiar custom. This unchanging character of their religious rites forcibly reminded me of the unalterable attributes of the Deity.

When the consecration of Bishop Miles was completed, it was announced by one of the inmates of the sanctuary that he had to pass through the aisle of the church. It was instantly cleared of its crowd. He then, accompanied by two others of the same rank, walked down and back, at the same time invoking from on high benedictions on all present. Robed in the vestments of a Bishop, he presented an appearance truly grand and imposing. His mildness and humility seemed to impress the crowded assembly with respect and with veneration. When the ceremony was ended (which lasted for upwards of two hours), the noise created by the immense crowds retiring was drowned by a burst of rich melody from the organ, which gave rise to the most pleasing sensations. The skillful musicians, in accordance with the occasion, executed a piece animating and appropriate.

Thus ended the consecration, which surpassed in beauty, grandeur, and solemnity anything I had ever had the satisfaction of witnessing. I seriously concluded that this ceremony bore, unquestionably, an impress of some supernatural institution, for its sublimity could never have been reached by human intellect.[39]

Father Miles was now a member of the American hierarchy. He had become the first bishop of Tennessee in the first cathedral west of the Alleghany Mountains. History was still a-making in old Bardstown. A beautiful character had been consecrated with a beautiful ceremony, accompanied with the pomp, glory, and splendor of the Catholic ritual; yet the congratulations heaped upon him must have sounded almost like irony or insult. Truly was he to enter upon his new field of toil "like the apostles, without *purse or scrip, or*

[39] We regret that the clipping from *The Record* which we used for the above does not give the date on which it appeared; but we remember that it was a good many years ago. Another cause for regret is that the late Father Louis G. Deppen, then editor of *The Record*, did not tell when and where the original appeared.

money in his girdle". Fortunately he possessed "a large portion of *their* spirit." Without co-laborers, poverty was his sole companion. All that he could command was a courage quickened by the order of God received through His Vicar on earth, and, as the editor of the *Advocate* tells us, his "known talents, acquirements, and zeal," to which we may add "virtue of a heroic character."

CHAPTER XII

EARLY TENNESSEE

The early history of Tennessee vies with that of Kentucky in romantic glamour. The early settlers of both states were largely of the same stock, had the same difficulties with which to contend, showed the same prowess in danger, possessed the same spirit of chivalry, and were guided by the same views in their westward migration. Perhaps this explains, in part, why the character of their descendants is strikingly similar even to this day, while their sympathies and politics have much in common. Indeed, climatically and typographically the two commonwealths seem to have been intended by nature to form only one.

Just when the white man first set foot on the soil of Tennessee will possibly never be known with absolute certainty. However, there are many who, not without good reason, are strongly inclined to the belief, if not even convinced, that the no less ill-fated than historic expedition of Hernando de Soto (1539-1542) made its way into the southern part of the state, halted for about a month on the Chickasaw bluff, where stands the present City of Memphis, and there crossed the Mississippi River into Arkansas. The Indian village of Chisca, they maintain, occupied the same site that is now occupied by Memphis. They base their arguments on a comparison of the topography of the country described by the companions of De Soto with that of southern

Tennessee, the location of Chisca, and the fact that religious articles of Spanish make have been found on Jackson Mound, just below the southern limits of Memphis.[1]

If these unfortunate Spaniards wandered so far north, they were beyond question the earliest of the Caucasian race to visit that part of the American continent. There were a number of clergymen with the expedition, and among them two at least, Fathers John de Gallegos and Louis de Soto, seem certainly to have belonged to the Order of Saint Dominic.[2] Thus, in case the sad remnant of wayfarers reached Tennessee, two of the first priests in the state were confrères of the first bishop of Nashville. Circumstances rendered it impossible for the missionaries to do any work among the Indians throughout the long and perilous journey. After the battle at Mauilla (or Mavilla) they could not even say mass for the Spaniards, for all their wheat, flour, vestments, and church vessels were lost in a conflagration at that place.[3]

Again, it is well within the realm of probability, though not susceptible of proof, that Louis Joliet and

1 The great majority of those who have really studied the accounts of De Soto's peregrinations place Tennessee and Memphis on the route he followed. There is a very good article on the subject by Walter Malone in the Memphis *Commercial Appeal* of July 2, 1909. The late Brother Maurelian of the Christian Brothers College, Memphis, who was thoroughly versed in the history of Tennessee, and especially in that of Memphis, was convinced that De Soto passed that way; and he used to show religious articles that had been found on Jackson Mound.

2 Shea, *Catholic Missions among the Indian Tribes of the United States*, p. 45. These two fathers died after the expedition passed under the leadership of Louis de Moscoso who succeeded to command after the death of De Soto.

3 Shea, *History of the Church*, I, 112; Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, II, 249; *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States* (In *Original Narratives of Early American History*), p. 193.

Père Jaques Marquette touched on the western shore of Tennessee on their voyage down or up the Mississippi in 1673.[4] Robert Cavelier de La Salle made a similar voyage down the great Father of Waters in 1682, erected Fort Prud'homme on the site of our modern Memphis, and raised the flag of France over the stockade in attestation that he took possession of the country in the name of his Catholic majesty, Louis XIV. With La Salle were two Franciscan Recollects, Fathers Zenobius Membré and Anastasius Douay.[5]

Unless, therefore, De Soto's expedition extended into Tennessee, the French were the first white race who trod the soil of the state, and the first priests within its limits either the Jesuit Marquette, or the Franciscans Membré and Douay. None of these men could have labored among the Indians at the time; but at least the two sons of Saint Francis must have offered up the holy sacrifice of the mass where Memphis now stands. In any case, the discoverers of the country were of the Catholic faith.

Fort Assumption (*Assomption*), so named in honor of the Blessed Virgin, succeeded Prud'homme in 1714.[6] By this time, in fact, a cordon of small French forts and posts had begun to spring up, which soon extended

[4] *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (edited by Thwaites), LVIII, 95 ff. Other volumes of the same work touch on the same topic. It is generally admitted that Joliet and Marquette journeyed as far south as the neighborhood of the Arkansas River; and that Marquette's journal of the voyage describes embankments which correspond with those on the Tennessee side of the Mississippi, which suggests that he probably stopped at some of these places. See also Charlevoix-Shea, *History and Description of New France*, III, 178 ff.

[5] Shea, *History of the Church*, I, 326 ff; *Catholic Encyclopedia*, IX, 378; Bancroft, *History of the United States*, III, 167-168; Ramsey, *Annals of Tennessee*, p. 39; Phelan, *History of Tennessee*, pp. 5, 313; Randall-Ryan, *History of Ohio*, I, 143-144.

[6] Phelan, *op. cit.*, p. 313; Goodspeed, *History of Tennessee*, p. 62.

from Quebec to the Great Lakes, and thence to New Orleans. Through these, in spite of the small number of French in the New World, there was a constant communication between the vast Gallican possessions. Seeking new discoveries and conquests, trapping wild animals, plying his trade with the Indians, acting under an inborn spirit of adventure, responding to the call of his wander-lust, or obeying orders from the civic authorites, back and forth the Gaul wandered between north and south, or from post to post. Quebec, Montreal, or the country of the Great Lakes lay at one end of his journey; New Orleans at the other. Oftentimes he was never less alone than when alone; for then his poetic soul could, undisturbed, contemplate and revel in the unrivalled beauties of primeval nature. Perhaps it is this mental build that enables the French, even though brought up in the most refined society, to content themselves in the wilds of forest or desert, and has had its part in making them such splendid missionaries among uncivilized peoples.[7]

The Vicariate Apostolic of Quebec was established in 1657. In 1674 it became a bishopric, whose jurisdiction, besides Canada, soon embraced all the then known parts of the present United States except the English colonies along the Atlantic seaboard and those of Spain on the northeastern shore of the Gulf of Mexico.[8] The Mississippi River was the great artery of trade, travel, and communication between the southernmost and northernmost possessions of France. Up and down

[7] The ability of the French to accommodate themselves to such untoward circumstances is a well-known characteristic of that nation.

[8] *Le Vénérable Francois de Montmorency-Laval Premier Evêque de Québec* (Souvenir of the Second Centenary of his Death); Shea, *History of the Church,* II and III, *passim.*

its waters the missionaries made their way to and from their fields of labor, whether among the aborigines or their own fellow-countrymen.

Fort Prud'homme, or Fort Assumption, was a convenient resting-place for these zealous messengers of the Gospel.[9] Despite the lack of documents, therefore, there can be no doubt that they often halted there, administered the grace of the sacraments to the whites connected with the post, and sought to christianize the red men who happened to be in the vicinity. Quite possibly, too, they made other landings on the eastern bank of the river between the present states of Kentucky and Mississippi. However, the Indians in Tennessee do not seem to have offered an attractive or promising field for apostolic labor; for it appears certain that the missionaries made no concerted effort for the conversion of the tribes of that state.

Perhaps the explanation of this apparent neglect is to be found in the character and location of these Indians themselves. They were all largely wandering tribes, without fixed villages. The Shawnees, on the lower Cumberland, were so migratory that it is difficult to determine their real abode. The Cherokees loved the mountains and highlands,[10] lived in the east, and were more settled; yet they spent the greater part of the time on the war path, or in the common hunting grounds of middle Tennessee and Kentucky. Besides, they were near the English possessions, and far removed from the highway of travel followed by the missionaries. The Choctaws held the upper Cumberland; while the

9 Fort Assumption was built at the mouth of Wolf River (the Margot of the French), and on the present site of Memphis.

10 The word Cherokee is said to mean "upland field."

Chickasaws claimed and used the territory between the Tennessee and Mississippi rivers, and were bitter enemies of the French. Furthermore, the strongholds of the last two tribes were in Mississippi, where they could be more conveniently reached from the south. In these facts, no doubt, we have the principal reason why Tennessee was passed by for a more promising apostolate on either side of the great watercourse, both above and below.[11]

French traders, in small numbers, made their way among the Indian tribes scattered through the state. As early as 1714, a trading post was established on the present site of Nashville. Possibly there were others in the state, of which no memory or trace has been left. In 1736, it was discovered that one Christian Priber, whose name and position suggest that he was an Alsatian, lived among the Cherokees. He seems to have spent a part of his time in eastern Tennessee. He knew the language of the Indians perfectly, sought to bring them to a more civilized manner of life, and to ally them with the French, as whose agent he acted.[12] These traders were Catholics, but there is no indication

11 *Catholic Encyclopedia,* XIV, 508; PHELAN, *op. cit., passim;* BANCROFT, *op. cit.,* III, *passim; The Catholic Journal of the South,* December 21, 1912; *The Century Cyclopedia of Names, passim.*

12 RAMSEY, *op. cit.,* pp. 45, 79; PHELAN, *op. cit.,* pp. 10, 114; *History of Nashville* (edited by Wooldridge), p. 38; CLAYTON, *History of Davidson County, Tennessee,* p. 17; ADAIR, *History of the American Indians,* pp. 240-243; STEVENS, *History of Georgia,* I, 164-167; *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology,* Part I, pp. 36-37. It is hard to say which the Rev. B. Stevens stretched the most, his imagination or his prejudice, in his harsh characterization of Priber as a Jesuit. There is no record of a Jesuit or any other missionary of that name in the north, west, or south. Adair does not call him a priest, and there is nothing to show that he was. Unfortunately, J. W. Powell, in the *Ethnological Report,* was deceived by Stevens, and calls Priber a Jesuit.

that priests of their nationality ever visited their posts of business or the red men whose friendship they cultivated.

After the French and Indian War, the territory claimed by the French on the lower Mississippi, together with all the country west of the great river, passed into the hands of Spain. Thus the Catholic missions there fell under Spanish domination. Quebec retained its jurisdiction over those parts ceded to Great Britain, for the Treaty of Paris (1763) guaranteed religious liberty to their inhabitants. The Quebec Act (1774) still further confirmed this freedom of conscience, but the suppression of the Society of Jesus (1773) had greatly crippled the missionary force in the near and middle west. With the recognition of the independence of the United States by England, September 3, 1783; the appointment of Father John Carroll prefect apostolic of the new American republic, June 9, 1784; and his nomination as bishop of Baltimore, November 6, 1789, the missions on the southern shores of the Great Lakes were severed from their allegiance to Quebec. However, owing to the occupation of those parts by British forces, the ecclesiastical jurisdiction over them remained in doubt until several years after Carroll's consecration.

From the end of the French and Indian War to the appointment of Father John Carroll prefect apostolic, Tennessee was in the extreme southern portion of the Diocese of Quebec. Then it became subject to Baltimore. Fort Assumption no longer played any rôle in the scheme of colonization. Yet it was seized by the Spanish in 1794. They erected Fort San Ferdi-

nando, and remained in possession for four years.[13]

During all this time, and from the recession of the southern and western country to France by Spain (1800), no less than from the Louisiana Purchase by the United States (1803), until the establishment of the Diocese of Nashville, western Tennessee appears to have had no more than an occasional visit from a priest while on a journey up or down the Father of Waters. There are no records of even such calls; yet it seems improbable that the country should have been left so long untouched by some missionary of Louisiana, Mississippi, or Missouri. Thus, although Tennessee was first discovered by Catholics, and the earliest attempts at colonization of the state were made by them in the west, these pioneers failed to plant the standard of Catholicity permanently within its boundary. Those who brought it this blessing, as will now be seen, came in from other directions.

Successful occupation of the lands of Tennessee by the white man began in the east. The French had failed in the west principally because of their lack of numbers and the want of sympathetic support by the authorities abroad. The English-speaking colonists prevailed on its soil through their own bravery and perseverance. Just when the first of them passed over the mountains into the present limits of the state will possibly never be known. However, it seems almost certain that hunters, explorers, and traders with the Indians made their way into Tennessee at a somewhat

[13] Bancroft (*op. cit.*, III, 368), without giving his authority, says that Fort Assumption was razed in 1740. But Phelan (*op cit.*, p. 314) says that it was superseded by Fort San Ferdinando de Barancas; while Keating (*History of the City of Memphis and Shelby County*, p. 90) says that the old fort continued as a trading post with "varying fortunes."

earlier date than into Kentucky—apparently in the second or third quarter of the eighteenth century. The glowing reports which these forerunners of civilization carried back concerning the abundance of game, the beautiful country, the healthful climate, and the fertile stretches of land beyond the Alleghanies soon fired the imagination of the brave and ambitious, with the result that a tide of emigration was not slow to set in towards the new west, where, it was thought, wealth certainly awaited the hardy adventurer.

Practically all the first and the greater part of the earlier settlers were from Virginia and North Carolina. They were a fearless people, but they had need of great courage in order to face the dangers and difficulties which confronted them. In no part of America did the pioneer meet with more stubborn or more persistent opposition from the red man. There was almost perpetual warfare between the two races for over a quarter of a century.[14] Another source of trouble was the uncertainty whether the country was a part of Virginia, or a part of Carolina. This doubt gave rise to the historic Watauga Association, which was perhaps the first attempt at an organized civil government by the English west of the Alleghany Mountains.

The pioneers lived under the laws enacted by this association from 1769 to 1777, when, at their own request, they were annexed to North Carolina. Removed as they were from the scene of disturbance, the people of Watauga showed much resentment at the aggression

14 The early history of Tennessee is as bloody as that of Kentucky. Candor demands the admission that right lay with the Indians, for they were the owners of the soil; the whites were encroachers. The same is true of all our early history.

of the English government, and later, by their prowess, contributed not a little towards turning the fortunes of war in favor of the Americans in the south, at a moment when the cause seemed all but lost to the patriots of the Revolution. North Carolina, however, wasted little courtesy on her new acquisition, left its inhabitants to fight their own battles with the Indians, and finally voted to cede the territory to the United States government. In 1784, therefore, they declared themselves the State of Franklin, free and independent of North Carolina. Jonesborough became its capital; while chivalrous, picturesque John Sevier, a soldier of the Revolution, and Tennessee's most noted Indian fighter, was elected governor.

Carolina soon took steps to protect her rights; but Sevier held his office until its expiration, in 1788, when the State of Franklin ceased to exist even in name. For two years more Tennessee was again a part of North Carolina. They were a period of dissatisfaction, largely because the parent state manifested scant interest in the backwoodsmen beyond the mountains. Finally, in 1790, Tennessee was taken under the charge of the national government, and became "The Territory of the United States South of the Ohio River." However, owing to the public policy of treating with the Indians which left the pioneers unprotected against their deadly foe, discontent was scarcely less than it had been before.

Still another disturbing factor was an embargo which the Spaniards placed on the navigation of the Mississippi River by the people of the United States, and a refusal to grant them the right to deposit goods at New Orleans. It was no more than natural that the west should fret under these two restrictions; for they

made its produce practically valueless, by leaving it without an approachable market, or burdened it with almost prohibitive costs for its transportation. While by far the greater number of the settlers in Tennessee were too patriotic to lend an ear to the suggestions of General Stephen Miro and Francis Baron de Carondelet, successively governors of Louisiana, that they should forswear allegiance to the United States and ally themselves with the Spanish possessions, there were those who felt disposed to adopt such a measure in order to be relieved from the drawback thus placed upon their traffic. Happily this difficulty was removed, in October, 1795, by a treaty with Spain.

The cup of the Tennesseeans' joy was finally filled on June 1, 1796, when their territory was accorded the right of statehood, it being the sixteenth commonwealth of the Union, and the second erected west of the Alleghany Mountains. John Sevier became its first governor. Knoxville was its capital; but this honor, as was only natural, soon gravitated towards a more central city until, after many years (1843), it definitely settled on the brow of Nashville.

When recorded in detail, though it is but sober history, all the above reads much like an overdrawn novel. To tell its story in full hardly belongs to a work of the character of the present volume; for up to this point, and long after, there is little of the leaven of Catholicity in the state's progress, be it social, political, religious, or commercial. Haywood, Marshall, Phelan, and other historians of Tennessee will repay any one for the time spent over their pages.[15] Suffice it here to say that all

[15] However, these authors are at times too drastic in their strictures on the French and Spaniards.

these authorities agree that the real settlement of the state began on the waters of the Watauga River, in 1768 and 1769. Ever onward the bold pioneers pushed their way through trials, hardships, war, and bloodshed, occuping one section after another, until they gained the mastery everywhere. As the reputation of the country spread abroad, colonists came from all directions. By the time the territory became a state the population had risen to more than sixty thousand.

Just when the first English-speaking Catholics entered the limits of Tennessee, whence they came, or where they located seem problems which can not now be demonstratively settled. However, the civic history of the state and geographic position make it almost certain that they found their way into the east, and that the greater number of them took up their abodes in or around Knoxville. Documents, which will be produced later, are also plainly in favor of such a conclusion.

Most of the earliest colonists were of English, Irish, and Scotch descent. Among them were names (Bean, for instance,[16]) which would suggest Catholics in Maryland. But as those who bore them in Tennessee seem, as a rule at least, to have gone from Virginia or North Carolina, they afford no certain clue to the religion of their possessors. Similarly, one runs across a number of early settlers with distinctively Catholic Irish names. Some of these appear to have migrated from the Carolinas and Virginia. Whence others came is not known. Doubtless a few of them were born in the Emerald Isle

[16] Phelan's history (p. 5) says that "the history of Tennessee as a distinctive individuality begins with the erection, in 1769, of William Bean's cabin" farther in the forest than his predecessors had ventured. His son, Russell Bean, was the first white child born in Tennessee (*ibid.*, p. 21).

itself, and gradually made their way into Tennessee. Beginning with the brutal Cromwell, it is known, thousands upon thousands of Irish youths of both sexes were sent to the southern colonies. Others emigrated of their own accord. By far the greater number of the children of these, born of mixed marriages and in places where they had no priests, were lost to the Church.[17] Yet in other instances, particularly when several Catholics located in the same neighborhood, the faith was kept and handed down from generation to generation through a long series of years.

Thus it is highly probable, if not even certain, that some of those with Irish names who figured in the earliest steps of Tennessee's making were Catholics. They could, of course, enjoy none of the consolations of their religion. For this reason, some of them possibly returned to Maryland, went to Kentucky, or moved on to the former Spanish possessions. Most of the descendants of those who remained must eventually have lost the faith—a sad commentary on the folly of Catholics who, for mere worldly advantages, settle where they can not practise their religion, or have their children brought up under the influence of the Church, and grounded in its doctrine. Defections, broken hearts, and souls lost inevitably follow. This somber truth is written on every page of the early Catholic history of all our states, no less than of that of Tennessee.

The first priest of whose presence in beautiful eastern Tennessee there is any record was the Rev. William Rohan, mentioned in a previous chapter. The rough

17 There can be no doubt that a large proportion of our American non-Catholics who claim to be of "Scotch-Irish" origin are descended from ancestors circumstanced as described in the text.

draft of a letter from Archbishop Carroll, then prefect apostolic, to Father Rohan himself indicates that he was given faculties for the missions in Virginia.[18] Thence he seems to have made his way into Tennessee, which he possibly believed fell within his field of labor. Bishop Spalding, who must have known him personally, writes:

After the departure of F[ather] Whelan [in the spring of 1790], the Catholics of Kentucky were again left without a pastor. In the following summer, however, there arrived among them, in company with a caravan of emigrants from North Carolina and East Tennessee, the Rev. Wm. de Rohan.[19] He seems to have been born in France, of Irish parentage, and was a reputed doctor of the Sorbonne. Some chance had thrown him on the American shores; and a few years previous to his arrival in Kentucky, he had received faculties for a mission in Virginia, from the Very Rev. Dr. Carroll. Shortly afterwards he had travelled to Tennessee, where he remained for more than a year.

In Kentucky, he said Mass for the Catholics, visited the sick, and administered the sacraments of Baptism and Matrimony; but he abstained from hearing confessions, as he did not at first believe that his powers extended to this distant mission. He subsequently changed his opinion on this subject, on the ground that Kentucky was a county of Virginia at the date of his faculties, which had been given for the latter State, or a portion of it.[20]

Doubtless Father Rohan performed the same spiritual functions for the few Catholics in eastern Tennessee while he resided there. Perhaps it would be no

[18] Baltimore Archives, Case 9, S 9. The letter is not dated, but it certainly belongs to 1785 or 1786.

[19] Some give the name as de Rohan, others give it as Rohan. In the letter referred to in the preceding note, and in another of March 31, 1794 (Baltimore Archives, Case 9 A, I 2), Archbishop Carroll calls him Roan. Rohan seems to be the correct name. In a number of Father Badin's letters it appears as Roane.

[20] *Early Catholic Missions of Kentucky,* pp. 48-49. The same author (*ibid.* p. 49) tells us that Father Rohan spent the last years of his life at the seminary in Bardstown, where he died in 1832. Doctor Spalding himself was a student there from 1826 to 1830.

stretch of fancy to believe that he also heard confessions; that, when a doubt arose in his mind as to whether he had such a right, he induced some of the faithful to accompany him into Kentucky, where he thought they would find Father Charles Whelan; and that others, unfortunately for their souls, preferred to remain behind.

Possibly among these latter was gallant John Sevier —one of Tennessee's most noted men, governor of the State of Franklin, the first and several times afterwards governor of the new State of Tennessee, congressman, senator, the idol and ever beloved and trusted servant of the people. "There is a widespread tendency to think that he was a Catholic. While a member of Congress in Philadelphia, and afterwards in Washington, his diary shows that he attended Catholic churches."[21] Tennessee had neither a priest nor a Catholic house of worship. Perhaps this spiritual privation led him to attend the Presbyterian church with his wife, as well as to suffer her to bring up their children in that creed. It was probably his wish to have a Catholic clergyman and church nearer to his home that caused him to offer to sell enough land for a Catholic settlement

21 W. A. Henderson, Washington, D. C., May 10, 1909, to Rev. John K. Larkin, Johnson City, Tennessee (Diocesan Archives, Nashville). Parts of Sevier's diary are published in the *Tennessee Historical Magazine* of October, 1919, and January and April, 1920. No mention is made of Philadelphia. But in the April, 1920, issue of the *Magazine,* covering the years 1812-1815, there is frequent mention of Sevier's attendance at Catholic services in Washington City—so often, indeed, that one suspects that a thorough study of his life might result in positive proof of his Catholicity. Tennessee historians generally say that he was born in Virginia, and was of Huguenot descent. It is probable, however, that it is a case of the wish being father to the thought, and that Sevier was no more of a Huguenot than many Americans with Celtic names, despite their contention, are descendants of the so-called Scotch-Irish.

of one hundred families, and to donate a tract for their pastor.

The case of Hugh Rogan is at once sad and edifying. He was born in County Donegal, Ireland, where he married Miss Nancy Duffy of Tyrone. He belonged to the "Irish Defenders;" and it would seem that he left his native land no less in order to escape the police who sought him because of his associations with this patriotic society, than to build up a home for himself and young wife and child in the New World. Sailing on the last merchant ship that left England for the colonies before the American Revolution, he heard in mid-ocean of the Battle of Bunker Hill from vessels returning with wounded British and American prisoners. In Philadelphia, where the cargo was landed, he obtained employment from a Quaker with tory sentiments. However, he soon enlisted for the first man-of-war fitted out for colonial service, but an accident prevented him from making connection with his ship.

Later he went to North Carolina, where, with Daniel and Thomas Carlin, he engaged in mercantile trade, their place of business, because of the faith of the three men, being known as the "Catholic store." Here Rogan secretly played the part of agent for the patriots, whom he kept informed of the plots and intended raids of the tories. However, his days there as a merchant were short, for he was soon employed in helping to survey the western country. This was about 1789. In Tennessee he showed much prowess in the contests with the Indians. For his services he received a pre-emption for six hundred and forty acres of land which is supposed to have lain where the Vanderbilt University, Nashville, now stands.

Finally, Hugh Rogan exchanged this pre-emption for the same number of acres near Gallatin, Sumner County, about thirty or thirty-five miles northeast of Nashville. With the two horses, which he received in the bargain, he now started for the seashore, whence he intended to sail for Ireland that he might bring his wife and child to Tennessee. In Virginia, unfortunately, a miscreant not long from Donegal told him that his wife had married again. The broken-hearted man then returned to his home. But in 1795 or 1796, Rogan heard from his wife, and immediately set off for his native land, after an absence of more than twenty years. Perhaps not from the time he left Philadelphia had he seen a priest. Doubtless, therefore, the occasion which this visit to Ireland afforded him of hearing mass and receiving the sacraments gave the sturdy pioneer as much joy as the re-union with his wife and son, the latter of whom had now grown into vigorous young manhood .

Our immigrant's stay abroad was brief, for he hurried back to his home in Sumner County. There Francis Rogan, the second and last child, was born in 1798. A long period of spiritual desolation followed. Hugh Rogan prospered temporally: but it would seem that he never again saw a priest. We may trust that his ardent faith, good life, and efforts to serve the Divine Master in the best way he could under the circumstances sufficed for his salvation. It is noteworthy that this sturdy son of Erin was, in principle, a strong abolitionist. He possessed slaves only because of the necessity of the times. His dying injunction to his sons was that they should follow his own practice—never to sell a colored person, except in order to prevent a family from being separated, and never to retain the money obtained

through such a bargain. Faithfully did they obey their father's last behest.

God granted the prayer of Mrs. Rogan that she would not die without seeing a priest. The way in which it happened seems almost providential. In 1831 Francis Rogan married Miss Martha Lytle Read, who belonged to two of Tennessee's most noted families, the ceremony for which was performed by a Methodist circuit rider by the name of Fountain E. Pitts, although Miss Read had been brought up a Presbyterian. Mrs. Rogan's strong faith and deep piety profoundly impressed her daughter-in-law. Francis had grown careless about his religion. Yet, when his wife accidentally met the Rev. William Byrne, founder of Saint Mary's College, in Kentucky, at Miss Jeanne Floyd's, an elderly Catholic lady who kept a pastry shop at her home in Gallatin, she told this good priest the story of her aged mother-in-law, and asked him to go home with her. The reader need hardly be told that his unexpected appearance brought untold joy to this pious soul. He gave her the sacraments, and baptized her only grandchild.

Mrs. Hugh Rogan lived to see her daughter-in-law received into the Church. Bernard, the son who was born in Ireland, remained single. Francis did not take up the practice of his religion until a few years after his mother's death. Yet his home, which was that of his father, had become the hospitable and welcomed stopping place for the missionaries, no less than the station where mass was said for the scattered Catholics of the neighborhood. Such it continued for several generations of Rogans, all of whom stood firm in their faith.[22]

[22] Diary of Mrs. Clarissa (Rogan) Desha; Manuscript sketch of Hugh

Without doubt this case of spiritual starvation was by no means solitary in the early stages of Tennessee's progress. More likely there were many others of which nothing is known. The children grew up without priests or instruction, contracted mixed marriages, and denied the faith. Perhaps for this very reason they became all the more prejudiced against Catholicity.

The Frenchman, Timothy De Montbrun who is not inaptly called the father of Nashville, offers an instance in some ways like unto that of Hugh Rogan. Many stories have been told about him. One is that he fought under gallant Louis Joseph Montcalm; and that after the fall of Quebec, in 1759, he made his way to Tennessee, where he settled on the site now occupied by the state's capital city. He was an Indian trader. For some years he lived in a cave with his wife and children. Possibly he felt that such a place afforded better protection against the fickle aborigines. All authorities appear to agree that De Montbrun's settlement at Nashville antedates by some years the earliest approach of even the hunters and explorers from the eastern colonies. The first English settlers, who arrived late in 1779 and early in 1780, found him there. Afterwards he built a house at "Eaton Station."[23] Clayton says of him:

Rogan (Nashville Diocesan Archives); *Facts* (a paper), Knoxville, Tennessee, August 18, 1894. The manuscript sketch is undated and unsigned; but in a letter of July 6, 1894, the Rev. Thomas V. Tobin tells Father William Walsh, editor of *Facts*, that he is sending "Miss Rogan's sketch of her ancestors," that he believes in its veracity, and that Hugh Rogan deserves more than a passing notice in the history of the diocese (Nashville Archives).

[23] HAYWOOD, *Civil and Political History of the State of Tennessee*, p. 94, and *passim;* RAMSEY, *Annals of Tennessee*, pp. 192-193, and *passim;* PHELAN, *History of Tennessee*, p. 108, and *passim; History of Nashville*,

The family of Demonbreun was therefore the first European family that ever occupied the site of Nashville. Abating all mythical traditions, more or less of which have been naturally associated with one who ventured into this region at so early a period, there are facts enough to warrant the conclusion that the Demonbreuns were here in advance of the first American settlers from fifteen to twenty years. One of the streets of the city is named in honor of the venerable Timothy.[24]

Professor Clayton's book is dated 1880, and it states that De Montbrun's descendants still resided in Nashville, and had in their possession the watch and gun which he carried in the siege of Quebec at the time of the defeat which decided the fate of the French colonies in North America. Evidently he took pride in his French blood; for the old trader's soul overflowed with delight at the time of the visit paid Nashville, in May, 1797, by the three exiled sons of the Duke of Orleans, the eldest of whom afterwards occupied the throne of France under the name of Louis Philippe. Again, in 1825, the year before his death, the aged frontiersman had a similar experience in the presence of General La Fayette. No doubt his joy on this occasion was all the greater because he could speak to the man who had so largely contributed towards the defeat of the nation that had wrested Canada from his compatriots..[25]

Timothy De Montbrun seems not only to have enjoyed a good reputation in Nashville, but also to have

p. 38, and *passim;* THOMAS, *Old Days in Nashville,* p. 17; BARR, *Souvenir of Saint Mary's Cathedral,* p. 9; *Facts, August* 18, 1894; *Nashville Herald,* April 28, 1909.

[24] *History of Davidson County, Tennessee,* pp. 192-193. The historians of Tennessee, who knew little about French, give this pioneer different names, evidently writing it as it sounded in English. The name which we use is French, and it is that given to the father of Nashville by Bishop Flaget in his diary, as quoted by Spalding.

[25] *History of Nashville,* pp. 95-96, 102; CLAYTON, *op. cit.,* pp. 197, 204.

stood high with the people. Probably no other man in the state was better educated. Facts which will soon be presented show that, though there was neither church nor priest in the city, he retained the faith, and did not hesitate to profess it; from which we may conclude that he did whatever he could to instill the true religion into the minds and hearts of his children. The father of Nashville and his family, there appears little reason to doubt, were the city's first Catholics.

There are English names in the early annals of Tennessee which, as has been said, would indicate Catholics in those of Maryland. Possibly some of these men appealed to Archbishop Carroll for a priest, and the venerable prelate directed Father Badin to investigate the matter. At any rate, the missionary of Kentucky writes to Baltimore's prelate on February 28, 1799:

> I expected Mr. Thayer would have one more congregation; viz., [that] in Madison County. But it is about being dissolved, several of them being dissatisfied, others having lost their lands, others having none; they are now exploring Tennessee. I have written twice to the Governor of that State in order to procure an ecclesiastical settlemant there. I think that for 1,000 pounds as much land might be procured there at this day as would at a future time support all the clergy in your diocese. The above emigrants and others about me intend to settle themselves about one hundred miles from this [place?].[26]

A few months later, June 3, 1799, Father Badin again writes to the archbishop: "The Governor of Tennessee and another gentleman, his partner, wrote to me about forming a [Catholic] settlement of one hundred families in the State, and offers me a handsome seat

26 Baltimore Diocesan Archives, Case 1, E 12. The reader must remember that Father Badin was a Frenchman, and expect to find some Gallicisms in his letters. We have taken the liberty of omitting a "the" which he sometimes uses before Tennessee, and an "a" one or two times.

for a Priest."[27] There were then four missionaries in Kentucky, which gave Father Badin more leisure to explore for scattered members of the faith. So he writes a third time to Doctor Carroll on October 9, 1799:

As to Tennessee, I know of no compact settlement of Catholics; tho' many Irish people, etc., I think, are scattered here and there, and would at the appearance of Priests flock together. Such beginnings would be but little encouraging, if there was not [a] settlement made up of Marylanders. I intend to travel thither this fall.[28]

Thus early then appeals for spiritual assistance must have been received from Catholics in Tennessee. John Sevier, who had Landon Carter for his partner in land speculation, was the governor of the state. The minds of the Catholics in Madison County, Kentucky, were turned towards the south because some of them had lost their lands through the conflicting titles of the early settlers. Father Badin's project of a Catholic colony on Sevier's possessions failed for reasons which he gives in a letter to Archbishop Carroll on August 4, 1800. Here he writes:

Concerning the Catholics of Tennessee I have lately been informed that there were nearly one hundred families of them in Hawkins County, not far from Knoxville. They are mostly of Irish breed and [a] satisfactory account was given to me of their fidelity to the principles of [the] faith. I have written to a French Gentleman there who lives with Governor Blount, and makes an open profession of his religion. When I receive further intelligence I will faithfully transmit it to Your Lordship. The Governor of Tennessee set on his land too great a price; so that none of my parishioners intend any more to settle on Obey's River, where the Governor's tracts lie. And consequently the offer he made to me

[27] *Ibid.*, Case 1, E 14. [28] *Ibid.*, Case 1, E 16.

of a handsome piece of land for the Church, etc., is to this day of no avail.[29]

The Frenchman who lived with ex-Governor William Blount was most likely James Dardis whose name will appear several times in the course of these pages, and whose faith can not fail to edify. Evidently Father Badin did not take his intended journey; for neither in this letter nor in any of his voluminous correspondence with Doctor Carroll until eight years later does he mention a visit to Tennessee. He is ever careful to tell his superior of all that he does, and his failure to speak of a journey to that state is positive proof that he made none. Father Anthony Salmon died in the first part of November, 1799; Father John Thayer's inability to manage his missions gave the vicar general trouble; and the influx of Catholics into Kentucky grew daily. These factors, no doubt, rendered it next to impossible for him to leave the state at the time intended in order to visit the faithful farther southwards. We wonder what became of the goodly collection of Catholics in eastern Tennessee in the meantime.

Four years after the last letter quoted, Archbishop Carroll took up in earnest the question of having a western see erected. Father Badin writes to the Baltimore prelate on the same subject, March 16, 1805. In the course of his letter he tells Doctor Carroll that he encloses a communication from Judge James Twyman of northern Kentucky, which he had intended to forward at an earlier date. Then he adds:

[29] *Ibid.*, Case 1, F 3. The Hon. William Blount had been the governor of Tennessee while it was a territory. No doubt it is from some of the Catholic families then in eastern Tennessee that not a few of the so-called Scotch-Irish scattered through the south are descended.

As Mr. Twyman speaks of the Catholics in Tennessee, this reminds me that I have lately received by several channels some information respecting them which is of good omen. I wrote them a letter, by which I gave them notice that, should Priests arrive in Kentucky, as I expected, I should next summer or fall visit them. There are at Nashville several Catholics of good name, one of which is my countryman.[30]

Here we have further proof that Father Badin had not yet visited Tennessee, as well as another indication that the Catholics scattered here and there through the state continued to appeal for the bread of life, but found no one to give it to them. Evidently Father Badin's "countryman" was none other than Timothy De Montbrun, the father of Nashville. Most likely he was one of those who wrote to Kentucky's overworked missionary. Twyman's reference to the Catholics in Tennessee adds nothing new or important; still it deserves incorporation in these pages as another stone in the fabric of the history of early Catholicity in that fair commonwealth. The Judge's words are:

I am much pleased that we are about to have an Archbishop in America, and as much or more so that we are to have a Bishop in Kentucky. I say in Kentucky, as this State and Tennessee are to compose the Diocese. [I fancy] that his residence will probably be in Kentucky, as very few Catholics reside in the State of Tennessee, compared to Kentucky.[31]

Prior to this time (December 6, 1804), the indefatigable Badin had written to the archbishop: "About ten days ago I was honored with your favor dated October 15, by Mr. Gough, to which you request an immediate answer on a subject which I have much at heart; viz., the erection of an Episcopal See in this State." Then

[30] *Ibid.*, Case A Special, L 9.

[31] James Twyman, Scott County, December 24, 1804, to Father Badin (Baltimore Archives, Case 10, E 13).

he proceeds to give his opinion as regards "other intended dioceses contiguous to that one which shall be established in Kentucky", in the course of which he says: "I concur in your opinion that a Bishoprick should be erected so as to comprehend both states of Kentucky and Tennessee."[32]

Although other missionaries had arrived in Kentucky before the close of 1805, from that time until more than two years later the name of Tennessee is conspicuous in the Baltimore archives for its absence. Finally, in the middle of a long letter of Father Badin to the archbishop, begun on March 10, but not finished until April 30, 1808, and dealing with all sorts of matters, we find the following brief paragraph: "I have received from Knoxville a letter written by a certain Mr. Patrick Campbell in the name of the Catholics of that vicinity, who invite me to visit them. At the persuasion of Mr. Nerinckx I have promised to go to that country next fall."[33] This time the tireless missionary was able to fulfill his engagement; for on his return to Kentucky, he wrote to Doctor Carroll:

Near Bardstown, 7th January, 1809.

Most Rev. Father in God:—

Your last favor was dated 30th September; and I had the honor to answer it on the 4th November. Since that epoch, I visited the Catholics of Knoxville, and returned soon enough to attend the Court of Louisville. I had the good fortune to obtain the company of Mr. Ignatius Gough just returned from your State; to travel safe through the horrid Cumberland Mountains; to be sheltered from rains, and enjoy a puncheon bed at night. I re-

32 *Ibid.*, Case A Special, L 10.

33 *Ibid.*, Case 1, I 6. The last installment of this letter is dated May 30; but the ending of the document, together with the fact that Badin wrote to the bishop again on May 12, shows that May 30 was an oversight for April 30.

mained only eight days at Knoxville, where I found six or seven Irish Catholic families, with a good will to adhere steadfastly to the visible body of the Church. Would to God they were as anxious to belong to her soul! I heard only four confessions, and baptized twenty persons of different ages, and preached four times in the State-house. *Hic meta laborum.*

However, I am nowise disheartened. I hope for better success on a second visit, which I promised to make next October. Sacred vestments were procured, and promise given me to purchase for a chapel a beautiful lot of two acres on the edge of the town and banks of Holston River. As the time of my next visit is precisely fixed, I am made to hope that I shall see a larger congregation. I am apprehensive that, the land-titles being there fully as uncertain as in Kentucky, the Bishop of Bardstown will have but few diocesans in that State. The soil is represented as very fertile about Nashville, Duck River, Tellico, etc.; but I have seen very few desirable spots in the parts through which I travelled.[34]

The above document leaves no doubt but that this was Father Badin's first visit to Knoxville. Similarly, its tone and the absence of all reference, both in it and in his other letters, to any prior apostolic journey to Tennessee make it certain that this was also the first time that he had ever entered the state. On September 1, 1809, he wrote to Archbishop Carroll that he would soon go to Knoxville again; and in a letter to the same on September 23, he says: "I shall myself leave the State next week to be at Knoxville on the first Sunday of October."[35] After his return to Kentucky, he writes, December 4, 1809:

I was at Knoxville and preached before the Legislature on the first and second Sunday of October. I baptized four adults, *revalidated* several marriages, had a few more penitents and communicants than last year; and instead of building a chapel in town, [I] advised the purchase of a tract of land for the maintenance of a clergyman. The State lands are sold [for] only

[34] *Ibid.*, Case 1, J 1. [35] *Ibid.*, Case 1, J 4 and 5.

$100.00 for one hundred acres, payable yearly in ten installments.[36]

Eight months later Father Badin paid east Tennessee his third and last visit of spiritual mercy. On this occasion he wrote to Archbishop Carroll from the City of Knoxville itself, May 10, 1810:

Most Rev. Father in God:—

My last was dated 2nd March. I had the honor to write three or four times since your last favor was received. Mr. James Dardis, the principal Catholic of this place, will take this with him on his journey to your city. He takes charge of $30.00 for Mrs. Henry, which you will have the goodness to receive, unless he could be introduced to her personally. Mr. Dardis will be able to say more than I could write about the infant Church of Knoxville, which I call Saint Andrew. There are about twelve [Catholic] families unconnected, and many more stragglers, who live at a distance, whom I might gather in one fold, if time permitted me to stroll in the country in search of stray-sheep.[37]

[36] *Ibid.*, Case 1, J 6.

[37] *Ibid.*, Case 1, J 8. After the arrival of Father Nerinckx in Kentucky, he and Father Badin were accustomed to name a mission before a church had been built. This was done in the present instance. *Wilson's Gazette* of Knoxville announces, Saturday, May 19, 1810: "Tomorrrow, at four o'clock, the Rev. Stephen Theodore Badin, Roman Catholic Priest from Kentucky, will preach, at the Court-house, on the Resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ."

James Dardis was an influential man at Knoxville in the early days of the city. He was one of the first aldermen, a successful merchant, and a director of the city's earliest bank. Because of his honesty and good judgment he seems to have been liked and trusted by all. There was also a Thomas Dardis who was a lawyer in the city as early as 1800—likely a brother, or at least a relative, of James. Doubtless he too was a Catholic. The two names of Patrick Campbell, who wrote to Father Badin in 1808 (see note 33) leave little doubt concerning his origin and faith.

Wilson's Gazette of June 16, 1810, has the following item: "LOST—On Piles Road, between Knoxville and Major William Campbell's Ferry, a Large Pocket Book containing: 1st, a small silver plate wrapt up in linen; 2ndly, some papers which can be of service to nobody but the owner; 3rdly, some small pamphlets. Whoever shall find and return the

Towards the end of his letter, after speaking of affairs in Kentucky, Father Badin adds: "You will oblige me and this congregation to send, by Mr. Dardis, to Knoxville an altar stone. The supply which you had the goodness to bestow at my last visit in Baltimore is quite exhausted." And the document ends with: "I return to Kentucky tomorrow morning."

Western Tennessee had as yet received little attention from the inrush of settlers. But Nashville, in the center of a prosperous agricultural district, was fast becoming a town of much promise. Some Catholics settled there, possibly headed by Timothy De Montbrun, had appealed more than once to Father Badin for spiritual aid. So now the zealous missionary finally gave that place a visit, doubtless being the first priest ever in the city or in central Tennessee. On his return home, Saint Stephen's, he wrote to Archbishop Carroll, August 20, 1810:

> On the 17th of June I visited a small congregation of eighty souls in Barren County [Kentucky], on Green River, which had never been visited but by the Rev. Mr. Nerinckx. I was then on my way to Nashville, where I was cordially received by Mr. Priestly and other acquaintances, but found very few Catholics.[38]

This brief account clearly indicates that Father Badin felt that Nashville offered little prospects for the Church in the immediate future. He rather placed his hopes in Knoxville. Indeed, his letter on the tenth of the preceding May shows clearly that he intended to continue his visits to eastern Tennessee; and in the

same to Mr. William Campbell, or Capt. William Evans, shall be rewarded for his trouble.

24th May, 1810. S. T. Badin."

We are indebted to Miss Catherine White and Miss Alberta Koen of Knoxville for these finds in the *Gazette*.

38 *Ibid.*, Case 1, J 9.

course of the last communication from which we quoted, telling of his many engagements, he says: "I am expected in Knoxville the last week of October." Nay, *Wilson's Gazette* (Knoxville), November 3, 1810, announces: "The Rev. Stephen T. Badin, Roman Catholic Priest, will preach on Baptism, in the Court House in this place, tomorrow at three o'clock." However, though he must have been ready to start on the journey, something evidently detained him at home.

Thus Knoxville seemed on the point not only of having a Catholic church, but even of soon becoming a center of an extensive mission. Possibly, now that Kentucky had a bishop, Father Badin aspired to become the apostle of Tennessee, as he had been that of Kentucky.[39] Yet, as far as documents and indications go, eastern Tennessee did not see a priest from the time of his departure, May 11, 1810, until after Father Miles was consecrated bishop of Nashville, or for nearly thirty years. It is one of the saddest silences in the annals of our American Church. No wonder anti-Catholic prejudice there became almost insurmountable.

Doctor Spalding tells us that Kentucky's missionary wrote on the margin of the report of his diocese which Bishop Flaget sent to Rome in 1836, that he (Badin) made four apostolic excursions into Tennessee.[40] The same statement, as will soon be seen, is made by Father Badin in a pamphlet which he wrote on the Diocese of Bardstown. Again, the Hon. B. J. Webb, in a lecture on his personal reminiscences, speaks of Father Badin's

39 Dear Father Badin, it is a pity that he was not endowed with a more judicial temperament, a milder disposition, and a gentler speech. The country has had no missionary who more richly deserved the miter on the score of zeal and labor.

40 *Life of Flaget*, pp. 235-236.

long riding circuits, and facetiously remarks: "He told me himself of a short ride he had once taken, in company with my father, from Bardstown to Nashville."[41] Thus this noted priest made four journeys to Tennessee (three to Knoxville, and one to Nashville), of all of which he has left brief accounts over his own hand.

In the report which he sent to Rome, April 10, 1815, Doctor Flaget says simply: "In the neighboring State of Tennessee there are about twenty-five families of Catholics who are deprived of all the aids of the Church. A good many years ago, they were visited once or twice by a priest from Kentucky. Not as yet has it been possible for me to call on them."[42] Similarly, in an article on the "State of the Catholic Religion in Kentucky and the Neighboring States," which he wrote some eight months after his return to France, and which appeared in a French paper of date December 8, 1819, Father Badin says: "Tennessee, which is a part of the same diocese, has not been visited by any missionary. At least we have received no information to that effect."[43] By this, however, he evidently means that no other priest than himself had gone there; for less than two years later he writes:

> The diocese [of Bardstown] embraces six large states—Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, and Illinois. There are priests and churches in all these states, except that of Tennessee. As yet, this state, owing to its great distance and other obstacles, has been visited only four times, and that by the senior missionary of Kentucky; [that is, by Badin himself]. He brought

[41] Webb, *Reminiscences of a Lay Catholic in Kentucky,* p. 5.

[42] Propaganda Archives, America Centrale, Vol. III. The typewritten copy made for us reads *"Tandem enim possibile mihi fuit ad eos pergere;"* but the context and other documents to be seen later show that the copyist should have written *"nondum"* instead of *"tandem."*

[43] *L'Ami de la Religion et du Roi,* December 8, 1819.

together a small congregation at Knoxville, its capital city. May the words of the prophet be fulfilled in this state: I will collect them, as the shepherd gathers his flock with the call of his voice, for I have redeemed them; and I will multiply them as before. I will bring them from the peoples, and they will bear me in mind in the furthermost places.[44]

Father Badin, it is true, had called the little mission at Knoxville Saint Andrew's; yet it is evident that no church was erected there. Similarly, there is no record and no indication of a house of prayer having been built at Fort Prud'homme or Fort Assumption, where Memphis now stands. Thus Tennessee, although its settlement had begun early, had never seen the time when it could boast of a Catholic church.

[44] *Origine et Progrès de la Mission du Kentucky,* pp. 24-25. The same appears in the *Annales,* I, No. II, p. 41.

CHAPTER XIII

FIRST CATHOLIC CHURCH IN TENNESSEE

A well-defined and persistent tradition in Nashville teaches that the building of the first Catholic church in that city was occasioned by the construction of the first bridge over the Cumberland River within the municipal limits. This bridge was a splendid structure supported by large stone piers, the remains of which may still be seen, at low water, a little north of the Woodland Street suspension bridge. Miss Jane Thomas describes it as "covered over and weather-boarded like a house," with windows on either side to let in the light.[1] Perhaps this explains why it is some times called "the wooden bridge," and at others "the stone bridge." Unfortunately, it did not prove high enough when larger boats began to enter Nashville. For this reason, it was taken down about 1855; yet even as late as 1880 it was considered to have been the best bridge that had so far spanned the Cumberland.[2]

The date of the construction of this bridge coincides with facts now to be recorded to substantiate the tradition just mentioned. The contract for building it was awarded to Messrs. Stacker and Johnson of Pittsburgh;

[1] *Old Days in Nashville, Tennessee,* p. 54. The proto-bridge extended from the present Main Street, East Nashville, to the short alley which now runs from the river to the Public or Court Square. An early map of the city shows that this alley was called Bridge Street.

[2] CLAYTON, *op. cit.,* p. 204; *History of Nashville* pp. 102, 306-307, 326-327.

and the *History of Nashville,* edited by Wooldridge, says: "The Nashville Bridge Company was organized on August 19, 1819, and an installment of five dollars per share was required to be paid August 31. The architects and builders of the bridge came from Pennsylvania, the announcement being made in January, 1819 [1820], that Mr. Stacker, one of the contractors for building the bridge, left Pittsburgh, December 8, 1819, with thirty mechanics."[3]

On the way down the Ohio, other workmen were obtained at Cincinnati and Louisville. Many of these mechanics were Irish Catholics. When they reached Nashville, and discovered that there was neither church nor priest in the city, as the story goes, they were so discouraged that they declined to remain for the construction of the bridge. Those interested in the enterprise, therefore, promised to build a church, and sent post-haste to Kentucky for a missionary to visit them.[4] All this synchronizes with what seems to have been Father Robert A. Abell's first pastoral journey to Nashville, and bears out the Catholic tradition of the city. For instance, Father James T. Lorigan writes in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*:

> The first authentic records of a priest in Tennessee are contained in the archives of St. Mary's Cathedral, Nashville, when Father Abell came (1820) from Bardstown to attend the few Catholics then living in Nashville. Shortly after his arrival, Father Abell undertook the building of the first church in Tennessee, at Nashville, a small building on what is now Capitol Hill.[5]

[3] Page 306. [4] See also *History of Nashville,* p. 499.

[5] X, 705. The Rev. John K. Larkin makes the same assertion in the *Nashville American* of June 26, 1910. A recent search failed to uncover the records used by Fathers Lorigan and Larkin; but many of the diocesan papers were lost when they were transferred from the old cathedral. At the time of writing their articles, these two priests were not aware

Bishop Flaget had sent another account of his diocese to Rome the year before (October 18, 1819), in which he told the prefect of the Propaganda: "In Tennessee there are scarcely thirty Catholic families; and these have almost lost every sentiment of religion. The priest who visited them from time to time has returned to France. If God spares my life, I will make a visitation of that state next spring."[6] When the appeal came for spiritual aid in behalf of the workmen on the bridge, the bishop possibly decided to send Father Abell to Nashville at once, and to await further developments before taking his intended journey.

Be that as it may, there seems no room for doubt that Father Abell was the first priest placed in care of Nashville. From Saint Anthony's, Breckinridge County, as a center he attended many missions in western Kentucky. Doubtless it was there, possibly after a tour of his other charges, that he received word to go to Tennessee. Webb seems certainly in error, when he states that Father Abell visited Nashville only once from Saint Anthony's. It is beyond question either that he accompanied Bishop Flaget on such a journey in 1821, or that they went from Breckinridge County, where Father Abell was then pastor.[7] So again, besides the Catholic tradition of Nashville, there are indications that this noted missionary was in the city a number of times while he looked after the interests of the Church in western Kentucky. Perhaps the experi-

of the Badin documents at Baltimore which are given in the previous chapter.

[6] Propaganda Archives, America Centrale, Vol. IV. Father Badin was certainly the only priest of the Bardstown Diocese who had visited Tennessee.

[7] Webb speaks also of this journey on page 346 of his *Centenary*.

ence in Tennessee recorded in the *Centenary of Catholicity* belongs to his first call to the south, and Mr. Webb understood him to say that it was his only journey to Nashville from Saint Anthony's.

Be that as it may, the story, apart from the correction, is too authentic, full of interest, and pertinent to be omitted. But we shall let the venerable historian tell it in his own charming way.

Once only, while stationed at St. Anthony's, he was called as far south as Nashville. At the time referred to there were few Catholics in Tennessee, and not over five families, nominally Catholic, in the city that was his journey's limit. On this occasion—the story has been told differently, but the writer, having it from the lips of the missionary himself, naturally prefers the evidence of his own ears—an incident took place that is at least worth telling. The story, as related by Father Abell, is as follows:

"I had been riding for several weeks," said he, "and the effects of time and wind and weather were beginning to tell disastrously upon my habilaments. My pantaloons were threadbare, and my coat and waistcoat were things of threads and patches. I was really ashamed of my appearance, and while I remained in the town its streets saw little of me except after nightfall. One evening, I went out for a walk, and accident brought me to the vicinity of what I took to be a Protestant chapel or meeting house. The doors were open, and many persons were passing into the building. Without thought of the propriety or impropriety of the step I was taking, I went with the rest. A small rostrum at the farther end of the hall was indicative of the use that was to be made of it on this occasion. I managed to get a seat near the door, and there comparatively unnoticed, I waited for developments. By and bye, a hymn was given out and sung with a will, the greater part of the audience, which was quite orderly, taking part in the performance.

"After a prayer had been offered up, about which I shall say nothing, a dapper little fellow mounted the stand and announced the subject of the discourse that followed. He was going to prove to his hearers that the Roman Catholic Church is a system of

idolatrous worship, and that the Pope of Rome is the veritable 'Man of Sin' referred to in the Bible. I was interested. I had never before had so favorable an opportunity of learning the estimate that was placed upon my religion by its enemies. The preacher, for such he turned out to be, was as ignorant as dirt. and insufferably conceited. As he proceeded, you may be sure that I was more astonished than confounded. His whole discourse was made up of misstatement and travesty of Catholic doctrine, and of denunciation of Catholics, and especially of the Pope. The poor man, it is to be hoped, was guiltless of intentional lying; his ignorance was beyond conception, and possibly beyond remedy.

"His harangue coming to an end at last, I anticipated the motion of the audience in the direction of the door by rising to my feet and begging their attention for a moment. 'Ladies and gentlemen,' said I, 'there is no trait of the American character more conspicuous than its love for fairness. You have heard to-night a most violent attack on the religion that is professed by two-thirds of the christian world. You behold in me a minister of that religion, and an American born citizen. If I may speak here to-morrow night, or if you will provide me with a hall in which to speak, I think I can promise to prove to you that the religion I profess is not idolatrous, and that neither is it unreasonable.' Retaining my place until the greater part of the audience had left the hall, I soon found myself surrounded by a knot of young men, each of whom appeared to be anxious that I should carry out the announcement I had made. It was at once arranged that, on the following evening, I should occupy the stand from which the attack had been made." [8]

Father Abell then goes on to tell how the report of the lecture brought such a crowd that it was difficult for him to reach the platform from which he was to speak. Possibly a knowledge of his oratorical powers had preceded him. "I never felt more equal to an occasion in my life," he says, "and I soon had both my subject and my audience well in hand." He found it easy to demolish the attacks that had been made on the Church.

[8] *Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky*, pp. 149-150.

In reply to the assertion that priests require "specific sums" of money for their pretended forgiveness of "specific sins" he called attention to his faded and worn clothes, and asked how much the audience thought he had received from the thousands of penitents whose confessions he had heard. He assured them that, should he dare accept money for this holy office, he would at once be suspended from the exercise of his priestly powers.

The lecture was not only well received; it also gave universal satisfaction. But it was another matter, when it came to interest his listeners in a religion which they had heard traduced from their infancy. In this Father Abell confesses that he failed signally. However, he did not go unrewarded in a temporal way; for, as quoted by Webb, he proceeds to say:

"I am quite certain that I had myself no reason to be disappointed with the result of my unpremeditated incursion into the camp of the enemy. It gained me a number of friends, and, what was just about as welcome at the time, a complete suit of clothes, delicately presented by a committee of gentlemen duly appointed to carry out the will of the obliging donors, which did me excellent after-service."

Father Abell was sent to Saint Anthony's, Breckinridge County, in the fall of 1818.[9] Everything seems to indicate that the journey just described took place not long afterwards. Father Lorigan says positively that he was at Nashville in 1820; and in view of Bishop Flaget's account of 1819 and what has been said in the previous chapter, it does not seem probable that he was there at an earlier date. Possibly the report which Father Abell brought home with him combined with an appeal from the people to convince Bishop Flaget that

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 149.

he should now make a visit in person to that part of his diocese. However that be, we find him, in company with Father Abell, at Nashville in the spring of 1821. Doctor Spalding, with Flaget's diary before him, gives an account of this journey in his life of the prelate.

Because of its interest and importance, no less than on the principle of gathering up the fragments before they are lost, and in order that the early Tennessee documents may be found in one convenient volume, we again let the narrator tell his own story. It should be noted, however, that there are some statements in the narrative which were probably not taken from the bishop's diary. Of these labors Doctor Spalding writes:

> Tennessee was a portion of his diocese, which he had never as yet been able to visit. As there were few Catholics therein, he had delayed visiting them, until other and more pressing calls would be met. F[ather] Badin had already made four missionary excursions to this State.[10]
>
> In the beginning of May, 1821, the Bishop set out on this journey, and proceeded by the way of Breckinridge county, in order to take with him the Rev. Mr. Abell, who was there stationed. They said Mass in Litchfield on the 7th, and on the 8th they were in Bowling Green, where they found but five Catholics. They reached Nashville on the 10th, and put up with a Mr. Mont Brun, a Frenchman, who received them with tears in his eyes. On the following day, the first Mass that was ever offered up by a Bishop in Tennessee was celebrated by our prelate, in the house of his entertainer.[11] The Blood of the Lamb, now mystically shed

[10] At this place Spalding has the following footnote: "This fact he states himself in a marginal note to Bishop Flaget's report to the Pope in 1836." This must have been a copy of the report kept in the Bardstown diocesan archives; for Father Badin was not in Europe after 1828, or 1829. All of Badin's visits were made before the bishop reached Kentucky.

[11] Here we have another proof that Timothy De Montbrun retained the faith through all his spiritual desolation.

on the holy altar, made a potent appeal in behalf of that infant mission. The total number of Catholics in Nashville and vicinity did not exceed sixty; and there were not, perhaps, half as many more in all the rest of the State. The prospects of soon establishing a congregation here were certainly not very flattering. The Catholics were both few and poor. Yet the Bishop was not disheartened, and he resolved to make the experiment.

What was his joy, when he found that his proposal was most favorably entertained, even by the first Protestant citizens of the place! A liberal subscription was taken up, signed by Protestants as well as by Catholics. A lot for a church, 70 by 100 feet, was offered by a Mr. Foster, grand master of the Masons.[12] The Protestants of the city vied with one another in showing every polite attention to the Bishop and his companion. The late Hon. Felix Grundy and his amiable wife are gratefully mentioned by the prelate in his Journal. He was invited to take tea with a Presbyterian minister named Campbell.[13]

Many of the first families attended Mass; and a large and intelligent concourse were assembled every evening at the court house to hear the sermons of the Rev. Mr. Abell. They listened with profound attention to his eloquent exposition and defence of the Catholic doctrine, on confession, on baptism, and on several other points little understood among Protestants. The notorious Baptist revivalist—Mr. Vardiman—was in Nashville at the time; and he took the alarm. He even went so far as to give notice, that *he* would hold forth in the court house on an evening, when it was known that Mr. Abell was engaged to preach therein. The stratagem did not, however, succeed; his friends prevailed on him not to attempt preaching, as great public indignation, already partially aroused by his attempt, would be likely to break upon his head in such a manner as to injure both himself and his sect.[14]

12 The deed to this property shows that it was sixty by one hundred feet. Others, possibly following him, have made the same mistake as Spalding.

13 Felix Grundy went to Tennessee from Kentucky. He was a liberal-minded man, and always friendly towards Catholics. Spalding (*Early Missions of Kentucky,* p. 26) gives a pretty illustration of this trait in Mr. Grundy. The Presbyterian preacher referred to was the Rev. Allan D. Campbell (See Clayton, *op. cit.,* p. 313, and *History of Nashville,* p. 476).

14 This revivalist was the Rev. Jeremiah Vardeman of Kentucky (See Clayton, *op. cit.,* 318).

The Rev. Mr. Abell also preached in Franklin, Tennessee, where there was one Irish Catholic family; and in Columbia, where he made a triumphant answer to a preacher, who had grossly attacked the Catholic Religion. A sermon he delivered in the latter place, on the real presence, made a great impression; and several Protestant lawyers, and others in the place, made him a present of money and a suit of clothes, in consideration of the very handsome manner in which he had *dressed* the preacher, who appears to have been both ignorant and unpopular. On the journey, the Bishop served Mr. Abell's Mass, and they mutually went to confession to each other. They departed for home on the 27th of May.[15]

Webb also notes this journey of Bishop Flaget and Father Abell, but says nothing about the sermon in the "meeting house," or the suit of clothes.[16] We are inclined to think that this latter incident occurred as given by him rather than as narrated by Doctor Spalding; that is, that the missionary received it at Nashville, and not in the then mere village of Columbia, where there must have been less generosity, as well as less money, and fewer lawyers. Possibly, however, Father Abell was twice rewarded in this way for his sermons, as he doubtless eloquently defended the Catholic doctrine in both these places.

Be this as it may, it is certain that a number of Nashville's influential non-Catholics showed themselves anxious to have a Catholic church in their city. It may be that their action was inspired in part by a wish to

[15] *Life of Bishop Flaget,* pp. 235-238. In a footnote Doctor Spalding says of the minister at Columbia: "His name was McConico;" and of the money given to Father Abell there: "The sum presented was two hundred dollars." The minister was probably the Rev. Garner McConico mentioned in the *History of Nashville* (page 476). We wonder if Spalding did not make a mistake about this money, and it were not the sum contributed at Nashville for the erection of a Catholic church in that city.

[16] *Centenary of Catholicity,* p. 346.

see Nashville grow, and in part by a desire to make sure that the bridge was completed; but the fact is none the less unquestionable for that. One of those who took an active interest in the affair was Anthony Foster, whom Miss Thomas describes as "a very benevolent, hospitable, and wealthy man."[17]

Foster donated to Bishop Flaget a part of lot one hundred and seven. The plot measured sixty feet frontage by one hundred in length. The deed, which is dated October 25, 1821, tells us that the land was conveyed to Bishop Flaget and his successors "for and in consideration of the desire said Anthony has that a Roman Catholic church should be erected in the Town of Nashville where the said society may worship the Deity after the form of the religion which they profess, and in consideration of one Dollar to the said Anthony in hand paid by the said Benedict, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged." On the same day, Anthony Foster also deeded Bishop Flaget a contiguous portion of the same lot, which measured forty by one hundred feet, the consideration being "two hundred and fifty dollars in hand paid."[18] Doubtless Father Abell was in Nashville again at this time, took advantage of his presence to attend to these transactions for the bishop, and used the money contributed by the citizens to pay for the second plot of ground.

The land lay on the northern side of an elevation then known as Cedar Knob. Later it was called Campbell's Hill; now it has the more dignified name of

[17] *Old Days in Nashville, Tennessee,* p. 25.

[18] Deed Book O, pp. 358-359, Recorder's Office of Davidson County (Nashville). Both deeds were registered on November 1, 1821. They show that it was Anthony Foster, and not Robert Foster, as one sometimes reads, who gave the property to Bishop Flaget.

Capitol Hill. Possibly a small frame church had been erected on the part donated by Anthony Foster, even before Bishop Flaget's visit. A very definite tradition among the Catholics of Nashville tells us that such a church first stood there. Some years ago we met several people who remembered the little building well, although it was not used for divine services in their time, it having been then superseded by a brick structure. As late as 1924, Mr. William H. Hyronemus and Mrs. Columba Leonard said that both these houses of prayer formed a part of their early childhood recollections. They were the first Catholic churches in the State of Tennessee.

The frame church, one fancies, was run up at once as an earnest in order to retain the Catholic workmen on the bridge. The brick structure, we are told, was built by these mechanics themselves, between their hours of labor for the contractors. This would explain why it rose so slowly; for it is said that nearly all the Catholic employees left Nashville after the completion of the bridge, and that this church was not completed until about 1830.[19] Those who remained, no doubt, aided the few faithful already resident in the city and vicinity to bring it to completion. Perhaps the number of these latter at the time, while certainly small, was greater than that given by Webb, or discovered by Bishop Flaget.

Certainly some kind of a church had been built before the departure of these mechanics; for a travelling correspondent of the *United States Catholic Miscellany*, in a letter written from Kentucky, December 19, 1824,

[19] This Catholic tradition of Nashville is borne out by CLAYTON, *op. cit.*, pp. 205, 341, and by the *History of Nashville*, p. 499.

gives an account of the disposition of the priests there, in which he says: "Another, in the lower parts of the state, embraces within his jurisdiction a vast extent of country, and even several times in the year visits the neighboring state of Tennessee, wherein a church is already erected at Nashville." Meanwhile, Father Abell was changed from Saint Anthony's. Webb says that he went to Louisville in 1823, or 1824.[20] From this juncture until several years later, Nashville seems to have been practically unattended. In the report of his diocese dated January 11, 1826, Bishop Flaget tells the prefect of the Propaganda:

> In the western part there is the Rev. Father Sutt[on?], who was born in Ireland, but received his entire education in our seminary, and all the sacred orders from me. He has charge of three congregations, attends a number of stations, directs the sisters of Mount Carmel Convent belonging to the community of Loretto, and watches over the school conducted by them. The same missionary will visit (*visitabit*) the State of Tennessee twice a year.[21]

The Rev. Francis P. Kenrick, then a professor at the Bardstown seminary, touches on the same subject in a letter of January 30, 1826, to the Propaganda's prefect, his Eminence Julius M. Cardinal de Somaglia. Father Kenrick's statements do not appear precisely to accord with that of the bishop; and he indicates either that Father Abell went to Saint Joseph's College from Breckinridge County, or that some other priest had

[20] *Miscellany,* April 13, 1825; WEBB, *op. cit.,* pp. 153, 292. We are inclined to think that Father Abell's ministrations at Nashville ceased at the time the bridge was completed, and the Catholic mechanics began to move away. The *Nashville Gazette* of March 14, 1825, shows the bridge in use, and indicates that it had but lately been finished.

[21] Propaganda Archives, America Centrale, Vol. VIII. This account is the only place in which we have run across Father Sutton's name. Possibly he died in his early priesthood.

occasionally visited Tennessee after Abell gave up the pastorate of Saint Anthony's. The letter tells the cardinal:

The State of Tennessee, which is a part of this diocese, has a few Catholics scattered here and there, who are little solicitous concerning their souls. The priest who used to attend them three or four times a year is now vice president of the college, and can therefore go to that state but once or twice in a twelvemonth. The church, which is built in the City of Nashville, has never been consecrated, or even blessed; and it either remains closed, or it is used by a Protestant schoolmaster who holds his classes therein.[22]

The *History of Nashville* also says that, about 1825, "the Catholic church building in the northern extremity of the town was secured for a preparatory school," as a part of Cumberland College.[23] However, this arrangement was only temporary; and the fact that the brick church was not completed until 1830 or 1831 indicates that it was the older frame structure which was leased for a school. In any case, the following statement in the *United States Catholic Miscellany* of March 1, 1828, shows that those of the faith in Tennessee finally appealed to Charleston, South Carolina, for spiritual aid.

A respectable Catholic gentleman of Dublin writes to a Catholic clergyman of this city, requesting that he would, if possible, visit several Catholic families resident in the State of Tennessee. This is impracticable. The zealous Bishop under whose jurisdiction Tennessee is placed will, no doubt, make every exertion to supply the Catholics of that State with regular or occasional visits of clergymen. The Diocess of Charleston suffers as well as many others the serious loss of a want of a sufficient supply of useful Priests. It is painful to reflect on the situation of those Catholics who seek for the bread of life, and there are but a few to break

22 Propaganda Archives, America Centrale, Vol. VIII.
23 Page 387

it to them. The places mentioned where the aid of a Priest is required are *Nashville, Franklin, Winchester, and Gallatin,* Tennessee.

Not long after the appearance of this article, and possibly in part because of it, the first attempt was made to place a resident priest in Nashville. Accordingly, we read in the *National Banner and Nashville Whig* of March 28, 1828:

ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH:—On Sunday next, the 30th instant, the Rev. James Cosgreve will celebrate Mass in the Catholic Church, and preach from the Gospel of the day. The professors and musical amateurs in Nashville (ladies and gentlemen) have kindly consented to give their aid on the occasion. In the course of the Mass, several appropriate pieces of music from Handel, Haydyn, etc., etc., will be performed. The Church being yet in a very unfinished state, and from the circumstance of the intention of having a resident clergyman located here, in order to enable them to comply with such intention, the Roman Catholics appeal to the liberality of their fellow-citizens (already amply experienced in their generous contributions when building the Church itself) for further means to finish the interior of the building; and for which purpose a collection will be made. Mass will commence precisely at 10 A.M.

The day did not prove propitious for the pious effort; so another attempt was made for the purpose. Thus the April 4 issue of the same paper announces:

ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH. In consequence of the inclemency of the weather on Sunday last, the collection that was intended to have been made for the benefit of the Catholic Church was postponed till Sunday next, the 6th instant (Easter Sunday), when the Rev. James Cosgreve will celebrate Mass again, and preach. The Musicians, professors and amateurs, ladies and gentlemen, have again kindly volunteered their services on the occasion. Mass will commence at 10 o'clock A.M.

Evidently the new pastor was a man of action, determined to leave no stone unturned in order to bring his church to completion. Doubtless also the Easter

Sunday collection did not realize as much as he had expected. Now, therefore, he resorted to an old-time method of raising money for religious, charitable, and other purposes not infrequently adopted when all other efforts had failed—a lottery. The *Banner and Whig* of April 15, 1828, says:

CATHOLIC CHURCH: LOTTERY NO. 2—FOR 1828

One prize of 6,000 Dollars; three prizes of 2,000 Dollars; one prize of 1,750 Dollars. Besides numerous smaller prizes. Tickets $5.00; Halves $2.50; Quarters $1.25. Tickets in any of the above Lotteries can be had in the greatest variety of number, on application at Donovan and Stouts, New Office, Nashville.

A careful search of the *National Banner and Nashville Whig* failed to reveal any account of the Easter Sunday services, which must have been due to the fact that the volume was not complete. However, the *United States Catholic Miscellany,* giving that paper as its authority, says, on May 17, 1828:

It appears that the Rev. James Cosgrave officiated on Easter Sunday in the Catholic church of Nashville, and a splendid Musical Concert was given on the occasion by the Professors and Musical Amateurs in that city. General Jackson, with several other distinguished characters, was among the respectable audience that concurred to encourage by their presence, and aid by their contributions, the opening of this church, whereof this worthy clergyman is now appointed, by the Right Rev. Bishop of Bardstown, resident Pastor. The few Catholics of this city, and the others scattered throughout the State, may doubtless hail this event as auspicious to the progress of their religion, hitherto retarded through the scarcity of Missionaries.

There were not many Catholic journals published in the country at that period; and of these only the *United States Catholic Miscellany* of Charleston, South Carolina, was near enough to Kentucky and Tennessee to be interested in the ordinary happenings of the Church in

those parts. So again, with few exceptions, practically no effort has been made to preserve the primal records of the early dioceses, which should be the foundation stones for our ecclesiastical history. To these causes, no doubt, is to be attributed the failure to discover any further trace of Father James Cosgreve (or Cosgrave), whose labors appear to have promised much good for the Church in Nashville. Bishop England, in the quotation above, calls him a "worthy clergyman", and speaks as if he knew him well. That he was an energetic man may be seen from the initial steps of his pastorate. Possibly he brought the little brick Catholic church in Tennessee's capital to completion before going to another field of toil.[24]

The Catholics now had recourse to Bishop Kenrick of Philadelphia in the hope that he might be able to do something for their spiritual distress. In an undated letter, but almost certainly of this period, that learned prelate tells Bishop Flaget:

I take advantage of the return of Mr. B. Smith to renew assurances of my high regard and my friendship for you. I wish also to apprize you of the complaints and petitions of a number of your spiritual children scattered through the State of Tennessee. Merchants who come to Philadelphia have approached me several times, and begged me to interest myself in their behalf; but I have always told them that they should apply to you. Lately, when a gentleman who lives at Bolivar, Tennesssee, visited me and made known the sad situation in which he was placed, I promised him that I would write to you and waive the services of two clergymen who had offered themselves for this diocese, should you wish to send them to the aid of the Catholics in that state.[25]

24 There is a tradition in Nashville that a priest died there at an early date. Could it have been Father James Cosgreve?

25 Original in Louisville Archives—photostat copy in the writer's hands. There is a tradition in Nashville to the effect that Father Julius Massip

What reply Bishop Flaget made to this communication we do not know. Possibly, however, the circumstance fired the zeal of Father William Byrne, whose name has appeared in connection with the Rogan family, and determined him to relinquish the educational institution under his charge; for he seems to have been the next priest in Tennessee. Spalding tells us that he merely paid the state a visit; but he doubtless turned the journey into an apostolic tour, as he was so impressed with the sad condition of the Church there that he resolved to make it the theater of his future labors, and even to establish a Catholic college at Nashville. This must have been sometime in 1832, just after he conveyed to the Jesuit Fathers Saint Mary's College which he had founded in Kentucky. Unfortunately he did not live to put his design into execution.[26]

While, as is known, the old *Catholic Almanac* (or *Directory*), which began in 1833, is not always complete in its accounts, it is often the only guide we have to follow; and in the present instance it will likely serve to give one a fair idea of the scant Catholic activity in Tennessee from that time until Father Miles' appointment as its first bishop. The *Almanac* of 1833 has a

of Alabama visited the city once or twice in the early days. Quite possibly the people had recourse to Bishop Portier also for spiritual aid, and he sent this missionary to them—with the permission of Bishop Flaget of course. Father Massip was ordained in Mobile in 1830 or 1831. His name appears in the *Catholic Almanac* until 1838. As he does not seem to have been assigned to any particular place, he was most likely one of the two priests whom the *Almanac* tells us Bishop Portier used as itinerant missionaries. Father Massip seems to have been a Frenchman, and he most likely returned to France in 1838.

[26] SPALDING, *Early Missions of Kentucky*, pp. 267-278. Here we have a good appreciation of this splendid priest. See also the writer's *An American Apostle*, pp. 27 ff. Father Byrne died of cholera, at Saint Mary's College, June 5, 1833.

dash after Nashville, which means at least that no special priest attended the place. In the edition of 1834, Father James Elliot, pastor of Fairfield, Nelson County, and several other missions in Kentucky, is noted as having charge of Nashville. In 1835, Nashville is marked "vacant," and in 1836, as "having no resident clergyman." But the *Almanacs* for 1837 and 1838 tell us that "Nashville [is] visited semi-annually by the Rev. E. J. Durbin, dwelling at Morganfield, Kentucky."[27] Of this extraordinary man Mr. Webb writes:

> In 1824, Father Durbin was intrusted with the pastoral care of the entire Catholic population of western and south-western Kentucky, with headquarters near Morganfield, in Union County. His pastoral jurisdiction covered thousands of miles of territory, in every portion of which there were living at least isolated Catholic families, every one of whom was dependent upon him for spiritual aid and comfort, and to whose calls, in cases of sickness, prompt response was considered by him as of imperative obligation.
>
> This immense field, it would reasonably seem, was beyond the powers of any unit of human capability to cultivate properly; and yet the Catholics living in the tier of counties that bordered the northern bank of the Ohio, in the States of Illinois and Indiana, were equally with his own people dependent upon him in all emergencies affecting their spiritual needs. Besides all this, from and after the year 1832, the terms of his pastorate obliged him, once in the year at least, to visit Nashville, in the State of Tennessee, and to bear thither, to the few Catholic families there residing, the benefits of his ministry.[28]

This appreciation gives Father Elisha Durbin no more than his merits deserve. In all the places men-

[27] *Catholic Almanac,* 1833, p. 54; 1834, p. 82; 1835, p. 62; 1836, p. 81; 1837, p. 140; 1838, p. 117.

[28] *Op. cit.,* p. 365. This work says many beautiful things about Fathers Durbin and Abell. The latter died on June 28, 1873, aged eighty-two years. He remained on duty until the day of his death.

tioned his name is still held in benediction. However, if the *Catholic Almanac* be correct, his regular visits to Nashville and central Tennessee did not commence until after 1832. More than likely they began late in 1834 or early in 1835. The *Catholic Telegraph* of August 14, 1835, gives a letter written by him in Union County on the twenty-third of the previous month, in which he says: "In my former letter I mentioned my intention of visiting Nashville, etc. I have fulfilled my promise, and expect soon to resign the care of Tennessee to Rev. Mr. Deparcq." However, Father Durbin retained the charge, and it was probably in order to enable him to do this that he was given an assistant at this time.[29]

ApparentlyBishop Chabrat selected him for the trying position; nor could a better choice have been made, for he was one of the most faithful and tireless missionaries with whom our country has been blessed. In length of service he stands almost without a parallel. How he notified his southern flock of his intended journeys among them may be judged from the following announcement in the *Catholic Advocate* of August 6, 1836:

MISSIONARY VISIT

Rev. Mr. Durbin desires us to inform the Catholics of Tennessee that he will shortly visit that State. His present intention is to be in Nashville on the 3rd Sunday in October. He will also visit Gallatin and Hartsville. Catholics residing in other parts of the state will please meet him in Nashville, or let him know, as soon as possible, their places of residence, that he may call on them.

29 *Catholic Almanac,* 1835, p. 61. Matthew Martin of Fayetteville, Tennessee, in a letter of July 10, 1839, to the *Catholic Herald,* says: "Our Catholic brethren of this State have been visited by the Rev. Mr. Durbin since the spring of 1836" (*Herald* of August 1, 1839).

With the appointment of Father Durbin as pastor of Nashville began the dawn of a better day for the Church of Tennessee; for one can but believe that he kept before Bishop Chabrat the sad condition of the scattered Catholics, and the imperative need of a resident bishop that Catholicity might gain a firm hold in that fair state. No doubt also, for he was a man of much good judgment and considerable penetration, he foresaw the tact and time and labor and patience which would be required to put the Church well on its feet there, after the soil had been left so long untilled.

The zealous ambassador of Christ did all that he could, in the little time at his disposal, to keep the faith alive in the hearts of the people. From the pastorate of Father Cosgreve, the modest brick church was rarely, if ever, used by the visiting missionaries. Thus Father Durbin found it in a state of dilapidation. Perhaps he felt that it would be an injustice to his small and poor flock to place upon them the burden of repairing and keeping it in good condition. He therefore, no doubt wisely, followed the example of his predecessors, and contented himself with the larger houses of the Catholics for all ecclesiastical functions. But, in this way, the temple of prayer had almost gone to rack and ruin by the time of Bishop Miles' consecration.

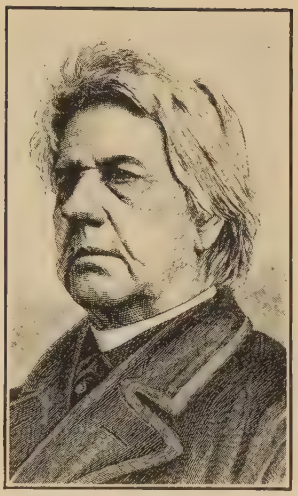
Father Durbin was delighted when he heard that Nashville had finally been erected into an episcopal see, and that his friend had been appointed as its first head. He made a hurried visit to the city and vicinity in order to acquaint the Catholics with the good news, no less than to make whatever preparations he could for a befitting reception of their bishop. On his return home,

he wrote to Bishop Chabrat, in his characteristic, brief, simple way:

I am glad to hear of the nomination of Right Rev. Mr. Miles to the new See of Nashville. But I cannot consider myself released from the place until I see him installed. I have promised to give $200.00 to help him to fix himself there. I hope you will urge others to assist liberally—both priests and the people of the different congregations. I hope you will know the time he will go either to see and arrange, or to take charge of the place, and note [?] your visit to this place at the same time. I suppose it will be for you to go and install him; and then it might be well (if it can suit other things) to visit the Purchase [on your way] from Nashville, and this place on your way home.[30]

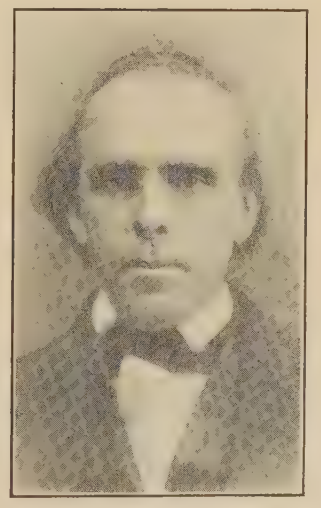
30 Archives of Saint Joseph's Province. The Purchase was one of Father Durbin's missions in western Kentucky. It got its name from the fact that it was in the part of the "Jackson Purchase" which extended into Kentucky. Father Durbin's letter was written at "St. Vincent's," Union County, Kentucky, November 27, 1837.

REV. STEPHEN T. BADIN



REV. ROBERT A. ABELL

REV. ELISHA J. DURBIN



REV. JOHN D. MAGUIRE

THREE MISSICNARIES IN TENNESSEE BEFORE BISHOP MILES, AND ONE OF THE FIRST WHO CAME TO HIS ASSISTANCE

CHAPTER XIV

TAKES POSSESSION OF HIS SEE

Such was the status of the new diocese over which Bishop Miles had been appointed. He was then in his forty-ninth year. Few men, even if younger and of more vigorous health, would have had the courage to face that with which he was confronted. Yet, now that he was consecrated, he faltered not, though all that he or his diocese possessed in temporal goods was a dilapidated brick church, forty-five by fifty-five feet, which stood on the northern declivity of a barren knob, covered with dwarf cedars, in the outskirts of Nashville. No doubt the clergy of Kentucky had defrayed the expenses of his consecration. While preparations were under way for his installation, he stayed with his brethren at Saint Rose's, where, during the first week of October, he performed his first episcopal functions by conferring all the sacred orders, except that of the priesthood, on his former novice, Brother Matthew Anthony O'Brien, who afterwards did much strenuous and fruitful apostolic work up and down the lower Mississippi River.[1]

Meanwhile, Father Durbin, who had possibly come from Nashville to Bardstown for the consecration, hastened back to the southern city in order to make ready for Doctor Miles' arrival. Father Joseph T.

[1] The *Catholic Advocate,* October 20, 1838; *An American Apostle,* pp. 59-60, and *passim.*

Jarboe, the prior of Saint Rose's Convent, seems to have been selected to assist Father Durbin at the bishop's induction. It was a happy choice, for the three men were close friends. Says the *Catholic Advocate* of October 20, 1838:

On Monday, the 8th of October, the Right Rev. Dr. Miles, accompanied by the Very Rev. F[ather] Jarboe, left the Church of St. Rose's on his way to Nashville, his Episcopal See. The Rev. E. J. Durbin had preceded him a few days in order to dispose all things for his arrival. Bishop Miles undertakes a difficult and most arduous mission; but we have every reason to hope that God will bless his labors, and that Religion will flourish in Tennessee.

It has been handed down to us that Saint Rose's gave the bishop its best steed, and that he and Father Jarboe travelled from that place to Nashville on horseback; and the tradition is borne out by the fact that they were five days in making the journey. If we may judge by Father Jarboe's account, the ceremony of installation was simplicity itself. Perhaps, however, it was all the more solemn, as well as the more Christ-like, for that very reason. Certainly it was no less in accordance with Bishop Miles' spirit than in keeping with the circumstances of poverty and privation. In a letter written at Saint Rose's, October 29, 1838, to the editor of the *Catholic Advocate,* Father Jarboe thus tells the story:

Rev. and Dear Sir:—

When I last addressed you, I was just setting out with Right Rev. Dr. Miles for his new home, Nashville, which we reached on the Friday night following, having spent a day in Franklin [the last town in Kentucky], where the Bishop preached an eloquent sermon on "The Rule of Faith" to quite a respectable audience.

Our zealous brother in the work of the ministry, Rev. Mr. Durbin, "whose praise is in all the churches," had been at work in

Nashville, making preparations for the Bishop's reception. The church which is a brick building, forty-five by fifty-five feet, had been entirely neglected for many years, and was consequently much out of repair. Rev. Mr. Durbin had the windows, door, and floor repaired, and also four rows of genteel, plain seats made, numbering fifteen or sixteen in a row; a neat temporary altar, and a convenient pulpit. It is but a just tribute of praise to this indefatigable missionary to state that he contributed a hundred and twenty-five dollars of his own towards these repairs, and that he has been the only priest that has visited the Catholics of Nashville for many years past; so that to him they are indebted for all those spiritual aids by which their faith has been kept alive.

We took lodgings provided for us at the "Washington Hotel," where the Bishop was soon visited by most of the Catholics of the place, as also by many of the citizens of other denominations who seemed pleased at his coming amongst them, and expressed a willingness to aid him in his many necessities. Indeed, his dignified demeanor, and his modest and unassuming manners will not fail to gain the respect of all who become acquainted with him, and insure their concurrence in all his laudable undertakings.[2]

Although the Sunday was unfavorable, the church was tolerably well filled. The Bishop addressed the congregation before Mass in a most feeling and paternal manner, and assured them of his devoted attachment to those lately committed to his charge. In truth, he seemed almost unearthly. Putting self entirely out of view, he declared that he lived only for them, and that his greatest and only happiness, both in life and death, would be to see them faithful in the practice of all those Christian virtues which our holy religion inculcates on her members. He exhorted them to a frequent participation of the holy sacraments, as being the means established by a merciful Saviour for obtaining all necessary graces—pledges of that eternal life which Jesus Christ has purchased for us at the price of His blood. He expressed his utmost confidence in the protection of heaven, and the final success of his labors. He assured them that no worldly interest could ever

[2]The *National Banner and Nashville Whig* of April 11, 1828, shows that the Washington Hotel stood on Main Street, at the east side of the Public Square.

have induced him to accept so responsible a position, and one to which, in his modesty, he declared he felt himself unworthy to be elevated.

After Mass, Rev. Mr. Durbin preached on "Regeneration;" and I must say he did his subject ample justice. His attention was turned particularly to this subject by a remark of one of the religious papers of Nashville that "he knew no more about Regeneration than Nicodemus when he came to Jesus by night." We celebrated Mass every day till Thursday inclusive, at which such of the Catholics as could attended, and prepared themselves to approach the holy sacraments. We had no opportunity of taking the census of the congregation with any exactness, but supposed there were in Nashville as many as seventy-five or a hundred Catholics.

The Right Rev. Bishop, accompanied by Rev. Mr. Durbin, left Nashville on the 22nd instant, and set out on a visitation of his Diocese, which will take him four or five weeks. He intends to hunt up all his flock, and no doubt, like the good shepherd, will take upon his shoulders such as have gone astray, and bring them back to the fold. After having performed the visitation of his Diocese, Dr. Miles will return to Nashville, and will present, perhaps, the first instance the world ever beheld, since the days of the Apostles, of a Bishop without scrip or staff, or even whereon to lay his head! and who has not within his Diocese one single Priest! ! Well may he say: *"Portio mea, Domine"* [Thou, O Lord, art my portion]. But I would say to him: "Fear not. God said to Gideon: 'You cannot conquer because you have too many soldiers;' and when these were dismissed till the number was so small that they knew the victory came from God, they were successful. The work is the Lord's and He will have the honor. And [so] be satisfied with the reward."

These things I have thought proper to communicate to you, that through your valuable paper they may reach his many friends, who are anxiously expecting an account of the prospects of his Diocese.

Yours, etc.,
J. T. J[arboe].[3]

[3] *Catholic Advocate,* November 10, 1838.

Father Jarboe's words have a special value, for he was an observant man, possessed of good critical judgment, and not at all given to flattery. Evidently he remained at Nashville until the departure of the bishop and Father Durbin. As we learn from a subsequent issue of the same paper, which gives a digest of their letters on their travels, they took a southeasterly course from Nashville. At Murfreesborough, which had been the state capital from 1819 to 1826, they discovered one Catholic family of seven persons, and one Catholic man in the vicinity. Thence they continued their way, *via* McMinnville, over Walden's Ridge, on the top of which they found an English Catholic family, and across the Cumberland Mountains to Athens, in east Tennessee. At this place and along the Charleston and Ohio Railroad, the missionaries were welcomed by over a hundred Catholic Irishmen, with whom they spent six days in giving them instructions and the sacraments.

The ambassadors of Christ did not visit Knoxville, which shows that the faith had died out there, and that its people no longer appealed for spiritual aid; for the place is no more than a day's journey by horseback from Athens. Retracing their steps westward through the southern tier of counties, they visited Calhoun, Rossville (most likely Ross' Landing, now Chattanooga),[4] Salem, Winchester, and Fayetteville. Although it is evident from other sources that they met a few Catholics in all these places, Doctor Spalding's digest

[4] Ross' Landing, or Chattanooga, lay on the missionaries' route. The only Rossville in Tennessee that we have been able to discover is in Fayette County, in the western part of the state.

mentions none, except at Fayetteville, where they found two in the city and some in the neighborhood.[5]

Thence the wayfarers proceeded northward. At Mount Pleasant they visited one Catholic family. Some were also found at Columbia. Their last stop was at Franklin, about twenty-five miles south of Nashville, where they halted in order to administer to a handful of faithful in that city and vicinity.[6]

Bishop Miles and Father Durbin had ridden on horseback some five hundred miles by the time they returned to Nashville. They had preached in courthouses, in non-Catholic churches, and in the open air. Possibly it was during the few days they now remained in the episcopal city that they estimated its Catholic population at somewhat over one hundred and thirty. Western Tennessee had got on the map, and calls for spiritual help were coming in from that quarter, especially from Memphis. The bishop and his companion computed that the Catholics in the state numbered perhaps more than three hundred, but they were scattered here and there throughout its length and breadth.[7] Whilst the outlook was gloomy indeed, from point of numbers and financial, clerical, and other needs, the appeals for priests, no less than the kindly reception everywhere accorded the bishop, were hopeful signs.

In connection with his digest of the Tennessee letters, Doctor Spalding, who was then the editor of the *Advocate,* makes a strong plea not only for a widespread assistance in behalf of the Diocese of Nashville, but also

[5] The *Advocate* of January 26, 1839, shows that Father Durbin complained to Doctor Spalding of the inexact digest which he printed of these travels.

[6] *Catholic Advocate,* December 7, 1838.

[7] *Ibid.*

for the Catholic papers of the country to take up its cause and broadcast its needs. Its bishop, he declares, "is not only in want of the comforts, but even, to a great extent, of the necessaries of life." At the end he adds an extract from Father Durbin's letter in which that noble missionary says:

I do hope that the clergy in the different Diocesses will consider these things, and that some one may be spared, and be willing to go and labor with him [Bishop Miles]. But it should be one who is sincerely devoted to the cause, willing to spend himself and his means in establishing, or rather fixing, the Bishop, and serve the people for God's sake. I don't mean that he may not expect the means of subsistence. The Catholics there are few, but in general generous and noble souls. I do hope that the clergy and laity will think a little on the state of things in the new diocess. The church is in debt, [and] unfinished; the roof decayed. The Bishop is poor and without a home. If we fold our arms, and say: "There are others to assist in these things," the work must remain undone. We of Kentucky especially ought to feel ourselves bound. We should consider those of Tennessee as part of ourselves. But all should reflect that it is a work of the Lord; and that it is to establish a chair of truth in a vast field. It is needless for me to say more.

Doctor Spalding states, in the course of his observations: "We feel a deep interest in the welfare of the Diocess of Nashville; and this is our only motive, as it is our sufficient apology, for the remarks which we have made." From the same source we learn that, after a few days' delay at Nashville, the bishop and Father Durbin visited Gallatin, whence the latter returned to his home; while Doctor Miles also went to Kentucky in order to make some sort of arrangements for his final settlement in Tennessee.[8] On Sunday, December

8 *Ibid.* Although Father Durbin is said to have visited Bishop Miles from time to time, his labors in Tennessee terminated with the journey spoken of in the text. He is said to have ridden a hundred and fifty

2, he preached in the Bardstown cathedral, where he doubtless made an urgent appeal for an assistant priest and financial aid.[9] In regard to the first aim he failed. However, he appears to have had better success in the matter of temporal means, for in its issue of January 26, 1839, the editor of the *Catholic Advocate* writes:

> We are pleased to learn by a private letter from Nashville that Dr. Miles has already succeeded in raising funds almost sufficient to repair and refit his Cathedral Church. Several Catholic families have removed to Nashville during the fall and winter. There is every prospect of there soon being in that city quite a respectable Catholic congregation. Much credit is due to the liberal Protestants of Nashville for their generous aid in contributing for the repairing of the Catholic Church in that place. We cordially wish Bishop Miles every success in his new field of labor. Besides the higher impulses of zeal, he has the sympathies and well wishes of many friends to cheer him on in his arduous labors. In the commencement of his career, he will no doubt have to *sow in sorrow;* but soon he may hope *to reap in joy* the golden harvest of the Lord.

The zealous pastor hardly knew which way to turn, or where to begin. Doubtless he felt that one of the best things to be done, under the circumstances, was to remind his little flock of the penitential practices of the Church. Accordingly, he published regulations for the observance of lent in the *Advocate* of February 9, 1839; for this paper was taken by some of the Catholics in Tennessee, and through them the notice would reach the ears of others whose whereabouts he did not know. Besides that of being the first regulations of the kind issued in the state, the document has the added

thousand miles on horseback in the fulfillment of his missionary duties. He lived to an extreme age. He was born in Madison County, Kentucky, February 1, 1800; was ordained on September 21, 1822; and died on March 22, 1887, remaining active almost to the end.

[9] *Advocate* of December 1, 1838.

interest of recalling the noticeable differences between the observances of the past and the milder law of today.

Abstinence from flesh meat [it says] will be observed from Ash Wednesday to the following Saturday, both included; also on Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday of the ensuing weeks of Lent; and every day from Palm Sunday till Holy Saturday, both included. The use of flesh meat is allowed on all the Sundays of Lent, except Palm Sunday, without restriction as to the number of times. It is likewise allowed, *at one meal only,* on Monday, Tuesday, and Thursday of every week, after the first Sunday until Holy Week. The use of fish and flesh at the same meal is forbidden. The use of eggs, cheese, and butter is permitted. The evening collation should be moderate—and in quantity and quality regulated by the general practice of pious Christians, so as not to become a meal, instead of a collation. Persons dispensed from the obligation of fasting on one meal, on account of delicate health or hard labour, should at the other meals use only food of such quality as is allowed to those who are obliged to fast.

Without a priestly companion, without means, and with scarcely more than three hundred of his faith amidst a population of several hundred thousand, and these scattered throughout a state nearly five hundred miles in length, as well as over a hundred in width, and with an area of forty-two thousand square miles, the bishop must have felt lost. He now busied himself with the episcopal city and the nearer missions until the return of good weather. Then he started on another visit of his diocese, travelling this time, in answer to a call for the bread of life, almost to the extreme eastern boundary of Tennessee. The *Catholic Advocate* of June 16, 1839, gives a partial account of his journey in these words:

The Right Rev. R. P. Miles, Bishop of Nashville, has just returned from a visitation of the eastern portion of his Diocess. At Athens, about one hundred and fifty miles [south]east of Nashville, he found about a hundred Irishmen engaged in grading the

railroad. The Bishop spent three days with them, said Mass on Sunday in a shanty, and preached to a large congregation. On Monday he set out for Jonesborough, one hundred and fifty-five miles [north]east of Athens, where he understood several persons were anxious to see him. On Friday he arrived at Col. [Matthew] Aiken's, whose son and daughter were the objects of his search, and was received and treated in the most hospitable manner by this excellent family.

He found the two young converts well disposed and acquainted with every point of our doctrine, having obtained their knowledge from books and from the instructions of an elder brother, who had previously entered the Church, and is now studying with the Jesuits, in Frederick City, Maryland. Bishop Miles remained with them till Sunday, baptized them, said Mass, and gave them their first communion, which they received in a truly edifying manner. The young man had never before seen a Catholic clergyman, and was present at Mass for the first time; his sister had been at school at the Convent of the Visitation, Georgetown, D. C.

The Bishop left this small family with regret, and returned to Athens, which place he reached on the eve of the Ascension. On the next day he said Mass in one of the shanties and preached. He continued along the line four days, making a station each day; and on Tuesday after Ascension started for Nashville, which place he reached after four days' travel, having made a circuit of nearly seven hundred miles, alone and on horseback.[10]

Doctor Miles was the most grateful of men. Under no circumstances would he allow a favor, or even an expression of sympathy, to go without sincere thanks. On his return from the journey just recounted, he found awaiting him a letter from the Right Rev. Anthony Blanc, in which that prelate graciously offered to help him in whatever way he could. The immediate reply to the bishop of New Orleans illustrates this beautiful trait of the Father of the Church in Tennes-

[10] The Ascension Day of 1839 fell on the ninth of May, which shows that the bishop reached Nashville on his return journey on the seventeenth or eighteenth of May.

see, as well as throws much light on the condition and needs of his diocese.

Nashville, May 20, 1839.

Right Rev. and dear Brother in Christ.

I found your kind favour of the 9th April in my box on my return from a long and fatiguing visitation of the eastern part of my Diocese. I am consoled to find that some of my brethren remember me in my lonely and destitute situation, where I am left entirely alone to perform all the arduous duties of this hitherto cruelly neglected region, and where so much aid is needed to repair the evils that have taken deep root among my poor, deserted, and scattered flock. I find Catholics in almost every part of the state, many of whom have for many years neglected their duties, and in many instances have lost their faith for the want of some one to stir them up to a sense of religion. And what can a single individual do, now on the verge of fifty, amidst this general desolation?

My great poverty deprives me of the means of offering a competent salary to a clergyman; and in default of this I am doomed to struggle alone among the frightful difficulties of every species that surround me! God knows how long this unpleasant state of affairs is to continue. For the sake of the dear souls entrusted to my care, I hope it will not be long.

You were kind enough to say in your letter that you would aid me, and request me to make known the manner in which you could do this. After thanking you most cordially for your generous offer, I must confess that my wants are so numerous that I am ashamed to begin to mention them, lest I should frighten you by their number. Encouraged, however, by your liberality, I will state, in short, some of the most prominent. I need, in the first place, a good, zealous, active Priest to help me, and who shall have with me every comfort that I can procure for him. I need money to assist in repairing our church, vestments, chalices, etc., etc. I should be particularly pleased to get one of those cloth antependiums which I have seen sent from France. I wish also to get a keg of pure wine for the altar; for which I will pay you, if you will be kind enough to send it to me.

In fine, I need everything. And if you can send me any thing

above mentioned, you will confer a favour on your poor, destitute brother, which will not soon be forgotten. I would cheerfully pay you a visit, but it is growing too late in the season. Moreover, my services are needed among my people. Be kind enough to let me hear from you soon; and should it be in your power to send me any of the above articles, please direct them to the care of Connor and McAlister, Commission Merchants of this place.

I am, Right Rev. and dear Brother,

Very respectfully and affectionately your devoted servant and brother in Christ,

† Richard Pius,
Bishop of Nashville.[11]

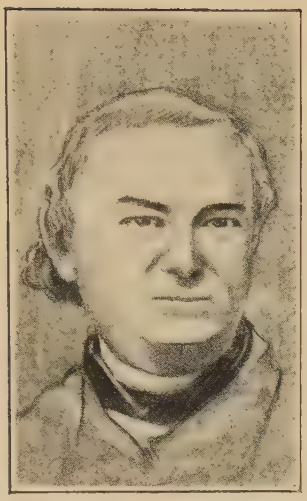
Matthew Martin tells us that, at the time of his journey in the fall of 1838, Bishop Miles "traversed nearly all East and Middle Tennessee;" that he promised to make a similar visit in the spring of 1839; and that he was prevented from doing so only by want of assistance.[12] To Martin he wrote:

I have no hope under God but in my own exertions and individual labour. Having heard during the winter that there were two persons near Jonesboro' wishing to become members of our Church, I thought it my first duty to see them; which I have done, and, to my great gratification, added two fervent members to my little flock. The railroad near Athens was in my way, [and] I also visited it. The unsettled condition of my affairs at home required my speedy return, and thus I have failed in executing a plan which I had in view when I last wrote you. In my present destitute condition, it will be impossible for me to visit my diocese more than once a year. My case is a hard one, and I hope my friends will have patience. I must visit Kentucky once more, and make a last effort to procure assistance. If I fail on this occasion, as on the last, I must wait till God pleases to relieve me.[13]

In Robert and Mary Aiken, the two converts mentioned here and in the *Advocate* of June 16, 1839, we

[11] Archives of Notre Dame University.

[12] Letter to the *Catholic Herald* from Fayetteville, Tennessee, July 10, 1839 (*Herald* of August 1, 1839). [13] *Ibid.*



RIGHT REV. R. P. MILES

JAMES FARRELL

HOLY ROSARY CATHEDRAL

NASHVILLE'S FIRST CATHEDRAL, FIRST BISHOP, AND FIRST ALTAR BOY

have an interesting side-light on Tennessee's early Catholic history. Though born and reared where there were no Catholics, and brought up strict Methodists, they came into the Church through a special gift from heaven, albeit the faith had all but died out in the eastern part of the state. Doubtless it was a reward for their good lives. Their brother, Father John F. Aiken, S.J., was Tennessee's first priest. He became a convert while a student at Georgetown College, entered the Society of Jesus, and through his letters and books of instruction which he sent home converted nearly all his large family, and had the unusual happiness of baptizing his own aged father and mother.[14]

Evidently the bishop's faithful steed was worn out by his frequent and long journeys, for this time the harvester of souls travelled to Kentucky in the stage-coach. While there he gave the minor orders and subdeaconship to Brother Augustine Peter Anderson, O.P., and conferred the priesthood upon Brother Matthew A. O'Brien.[15] But he failed to secure help for

[14] *Catalogues* of the Maryland Province of the Society of Jesus from 1838 to 1862; Baptismal Register of Holy Trinity Church, Georgetown; PARKE, *Some Notes on the Rise and Spread of the Catholic Missions in Virginia,* p. 21. The Aikens were a noted family of Pulaski County, Virginia. Col. Matthew Aiken married Miss Blanche Brown, possibly in his native place, with whom he settled in Washington County, Tennessee. Father Aiken, their eldest son, was born there, August 11, 1814; was sent to Georgetown College; was baptized a Catholic, December 30, 1835; entered the Society of Jesus, August 25, 1837; was ordained, July 22, 1844 (*United States Catholic Magazine,* III, 609—September, 1844); spent the most of his priestly life at Alexandria, Virginia, where his memory is still treasured; died at Georgetown, February 6, 1861. His letters to various members of his family (archives of Nashville and Saint Joseph's Province) reveal that there was a large family, and that he left nothing undone to make them Catholics.

[15] *Advocate* of July 6, 1839; *An American Apostle,* pp. 60-61.

his diocese; for the *Advocate* of July 6, 1838, informs its readers:

> Right Rev. Dr. Miles took the stage for Nashville on Tuesday the 25th instant, "solitary and alone," without yet having the consolation of a clergyman to assist him in his many and arduous labors. Heaven grant him courage to bear up under difficulties and privations so trying. It is to be hoped that some zealous clergyman, who is willing "to spend and be spent" in the cause of the Gospel, will be induced to offer his service to labor in a field where much is to be suffered and little to be gained for this world; but where the faithful laborer is amassing treasures for heaven, which "the moth cannot consume, nor thieves break through and steal."

Fathers Durbin and Athanasius A. Aud of the Diocese of Bardstown offered him their services, but met with resistance from their superior.[16] The Rev. Joseph Stokes, rector of the seminary at Cincinnati, however, determined that he would labor in the desolate diocese for a year, or until such time as Doctor Miles could procure other help; for he felt that the poor bishop would not be able to bear up much longer under the strain of his labors and the stress of his anxiety. It was a providential resolution. Indeed, the holy man had already fallen a victim of his zeal. When Father Stokes, on his way to Nashville, reached Franklin, Kentucky, he was met by a messenger who urged him to make the remaining forty miles as speedily as possible, for Bishop Miles was dangerously ill.[17]

The anxious priest arrived at Nashville on Saturday night, September 7. While the bishop was very sick, there seemed no cause for fear. But the next day he

[16] Matthew Martin to the *Catholic Herald* as in note 12; the Rev. Joseph Stokes to the Rev. M. J. Spalding, D. D., December 27, 1839 (Louisville Archives).

[17] The Rev. Joseph Stokes to Bishop Purcell, September 15, 1839 (Cincinnati Archives).

grew worse, and lay between life and death for more than a week. On September 15, 1839, Father Stokes wrote to Bishop Purcell:

On Sunday evening he became worse, and the best medical aid was called in. He is now attended by three of the best physicians in town. On Monday last he received the last Sacraments, made his will, and appointed me his Vicar General and administrator. He is still living, and we have but faint hopes of his recovery. The doctors will not pronounce, but are with him day and night. You may judge how I feel in this strange city, and yet how wonderful are the ways of God. The Bishop of Nashville who was so long deprived of the assistance of a Priest would not be permitted to die without receiving the holy Sacraments. My heart is too much affected to dwell upon the desolate [situation] in which I fear it is my lot to be placed.

[Should] it please God to call Bishop Miles away, perhaps you [would] have the charity to lend me one of the young Priests taught by myself until the Holy See disposes of Nashville. Surely you will not refuse me this favour. If it please God to spare the Bishop, and I am almost this day in despair of his recovery, it will not be for me to repeat my request; but I thought, in the making of a disposition of your Priests, you might have some regard for me and where I am stationed. I should certainly return to you the young Priest at any time you would appoint. I need not ask you and the Priests and Sisters and orphans and Seminarians to pray for Bishop Miles, and not to forget myself who requires much more than the good Bishop. I am in attendance day and night upon him. I wonder [that] I feel no fatigue.[18]

Father Stokes does not mention the character of the Bishop's illness, but the tradition of Nashville and the Province of Saint Joseph tells us that it was pneumonia brought on by a cold which his constitution could not throw off, because weakened by exposure and excessive labors.[19] The report of his danger occasioned wide-

[18] See the preceding note. Some words are torn out of Father Stokes letter; hence a part of the brackets in the quotation.

[19] This tradition is substantiated by the *Advocate* of November 16, 1839.

spread uneasiness. Bishop Purcell, for instance, wrote to the Most Rev. Samuel Eccleston, October 5, 1839:

We were thrown into great alarm, at the beginning of the week, by the news which reached us from Nashville of Dr. Miles being at the point of death. . . . Bishop Flaget was exceedingly afflicted at hearing the news yesterday, when he reached this town after a tedious trip down the Ohio. But during dinner the grateful tidings of our good brother's convalescence were announced to us. May the cure be effectual, for the moment is indeed auspicious for the work of Grace in Tennessee.[20]

Similarly the *Catholic Advocate* of October 26, 1839, says:

We are happy to be able to inform our readers that the health of the Right Rev. Bishop Miles is fast improving. He is now out of all danger, and is able to ride out in a carriage.[21] This intelligence must prove highly gratifying to his numerous friends in Kentucky, who, from the accounts they had received, entertained serious fears that he would not recover. The prospects of the Diocess of Nashville are becoming daily more cheering. . . . Bishop Miles has, we think, abundant motives for hoping that God, in whom he has reposed all his trust, will speedily provide for his scattered and hitherto abandoned flock.[22]

The appeals sent abroad had finally awakened some sympathy for the diocese; for from the same issue of the *Advocate* and a letter of the Rev. Edward Barron of Philadelphia we learn that, besides Father Stokes, the Rev. John Dunn, editor of the *Catholic Herald* in that city, also offered his services. Doubtless he too was

[20] Baltimore Archives, Case 25, Q 10. The omitted portion of the quotation merely gives some of the facts contained in Father Stokes's letter as in note 17. Bishop Flaget was just returning from Europe after an absence of more than four years.

[21] The bishop himself had no carriage; but his friends, very often non-Catholics, had their carriages ever at his disposal during the time of his convalescence. Such at least is the tradition of Nashville.

[22] The omitted portion of the quotation contains words of praise for the bishop and Father Stokes, the prospects of the diocese, and so on.

dissuaded by his superior from going to Tennessee. Bishop Miles, however, had come to the conclusion that the surest way of providing his flock with pastors was to start a little seminary under the direction of Father Stokes and himself. Possibly another factor in this determination was a letter received from the treasurer of the French Society for the Propagation of the Faith, who had heard of the bishop's straits, and wrote to him that he might draw on the society immediately for the money which it had allotted for his diocese.[23]

No sooner did the bishop regain sufficient strength to look after the faithful in Memphis than he despatched Father Stokes on the circuit which he himself had hoped to make the previous spring. Franklin, Columbia, Shelbyville, Winchester, and Fayetteville were visited. On his return, he wrote to the *Catholic Advocate*:

I met Catholics in all these places. Amongst some the spirit of Catholicity is almost extinct; whilst others, notwithstanding a long and painful privation of a ministry, adhered with a surprising fidelity to the creed of their Catholic forefathers, rejoiced at receiving a visit from a Priest, and prepared for the holy Sacraments. . . . Although afflicted, as every Priest must be, at the apathy but too apparent in some of our Catholic people, and for which, after all, in *this Diocese at least,* much allowance must be made, I have had much consolation in witnessing the tenacity with which, "through good and through evil report," some have clung

[23] *Advocate,* October 26, 1839; Father Barron, October 7, 1839, to the Rev. Paul Cullen, at Rome (*Records of the U. S. Cath. Hist. Society of Philadelphia,* VII, 367); Bishop Miles to Bishop Blanc, October 29, 1839 (Archives of Notre Dame University). Father Cullen was then the rector of the Irish College at Rome. Afterwards he became the cardinal archbishop of Dublin. Father Barron later went as a missionary to the free colored people who left the United States for the Republic of Liberia, in western Africa, became vicar apostolic of North and South Guinea, and was consecrated titular bishop of Constantia. He returned to the United States, and died at Savannah, in 1853 or 1854 (See *Catholic Encyclopedia,* IX, 217).

to the religion of their fathers. In the solitary instances, however, of such firmness, who can tell the evils with which they have been connected?

On one occasion, I met a man more than eighty years of age, a great-grandfather, the head of a numerous offspring, who for thirty years had not been visited by a priest. He taught his children, when young, the mysteries of our religion—had even his wife baptized and instructed by a Catholic Priest (the Very Rev. S. T. Badin, V. G., and the first Priest ordained in the United States). Yet he alone of his entire family continued faithful to his belief, and would never unite in any sectarian worship. His faith, like that of Abraham, was rewarded by the Almighty; his fidelity was blessed, for he lived to receive the Holy Sacrament. I have no doubt that if Tennessee had been favoured as other states, by a Catholic ministry, for years gone by, not only the numerous family of him just alluded to, but a multitude of others, would now be worthy and edifying members of the Catholic Church.[24]

Father Stokes says that, besides administering the sacraments in all the places which he visited, he preached several times in court-houses and Presbyterian churches which were generously offered to him. In fact, he received the most courteous treatment from the representative non-Catholics. Thanks to Matthew Martin of Fayetteville, who wrote to the *Advocate* on the same matter, October 25, 1839, we learn the date of Father Stokes' visit, as well as the name of the faithful octogenarian. The missionary reached Fayetteville on October 21. The edifying old man was none other than the former Catholic alderman of Knoxville, James Dardis, who had moved to Winchester.

Martin tells us that the venerable patriarch's heart overflowed with joy at the sight of the good priest, and that "he informed Mr. Stokes that every Sunday he

[24] *Advocate* of November 16, 1839.

read the Canon of the Mass in his prayer-book, and that he had never entered a Protestant church, until last Sunday evening, when he went to hear Mr. Stokes preach."[25] This means much, when we consider the channels of grace denied him, and the temptations into which he was thrown. The same writer gives us an idea, in a previous letter, of the trials of the early Catholics in Tennessee, where he says:

> The feelings of a Roman Catholic residing here are not known or appreciated by his brethren in the East. On the Sabbath day he beholds his fellow-citizens of other denominations going to their respective places of worship. He has either to go with such, or stay at home; for although I have lived in this state nearly fifteen years, I have never yet been at Mass publicly celebrated.[26]

Meanwhile, calls for the services of a priest continued to come in from various places of west Tennessee. Those who were trying to found towns in that part of the state, in spite of religious bias, realized the beneficial effects of a liberal consideration for Catholics which might induce them to settle in such places. One William Connor, a non-Catholic of Brownsville interested in the proposed town of Ashport, on the Mississippi River, about midway between the northern and southern boundaries of the state, wrote to the bishop:

> I have known for a long time that cities can not be built without mechanics, and that one cause of the slow growth of the Tennessee towns was the little encouragement given to Catholics to settle in them. We have had a full trial of this lately. We had a number of Irish Catholics at work on the Ashport Turnpike, who could not be induced to stay, for fear of dying without a priest. The principal object of this communication is to propose that you get a priest to come here and settle himself. I will guarantee that the

25 *Advocate* of November 30, 1839.

26 Matthew Martin's letter to the *Catholic Herald* as in note 12.

Proprietors of the town of Ashport shall donate to the Roman Catholics an eligible lot on which to build a church of any dimensions, and give them an equal chance with all other religious denominations.[27]

However, the printed advertisement for the sale of lots at Ashport, a copy of which Connor sent to the bishop, shows that the proprietors of the incipient town did not dare publicly to defy the strong religious prejudices of the day. Whilst it announced in bold characters "Lots for the use of the Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist, and Episcopal Churches will be set apart as Donations," it contained not so much as a reference to the Catholics. Nevertheless, the Father of the Church in Tennessee, anxious to avail himself of every opportunity for the spread of religion, did not allow this circumstance to prevent him from taking favorable action. He forwarded Connor's letter, together with the advertisement, to the *Advocate* for publication in the hope that it might bring Catholics into his diocese. Besides, he knew well the southern spirit of chivalry, and trusted that the presence of missionaries might result in conversions among the fair-minded.

Still too weak for the journey himself, Bishop Miles despatched Father Stokes to Jackson, Ashport, and Memphis on November 4, 1839. Everywhere he was received with joy by the few who belonged to the fold, and treated with courteous hospitality by the leading non-Catholics. At Ashport, where he spent a week in instructing the Catholics and giving them the sacraments, two lots, each one hundred and five by one hundred feet, were deeded to the bishop, and Andrew

[27] *Advocate* of September 21, 1839.

Finn, a contractor, was appointed his agent to superintend the construction of a church, fifty by thirty-five feet in dimensions. Stokes speaks in terms of the highest praise of Messrs. William Connor and R. C. Campbell, two of the proprietors whom he met. Unfortunately, their efforts to found a city proved abortive, and thus the plan for a church there came to naught.[28]

Father Stokes was the first priest of the diocese, and possibly the first English-speaking missionary, to visit any of these places. For this reason, as also because Memphis soon played a conspicuous part no less in the spiritual than in the temporal welfare of the state, we let Father Stokes tell the story of his labors in that city in his own words. Besides, they show the spirit which he encountered all along his route.

I arrived at Memphis [he says] on Thursday, the 14th of November, and was exceedingly gratified at the joy that was manifested by the Catholics of that town on the first arrival of a Priest of the Diocese of Nashville.[29] The Catholics, some of whom are amongst the most intelligent and respectable citizens of that flourishing town, generally conducted themselves in a most edifying manner, prepared themselves to receive the holy Sacraments, and in every respect exhibited the most gratifying testimony of love and veneration for the merciful institution of our Redeemer.

On Sunday, the 17th, I was invited to preach in the Male Academy of the town, and was favored by the attendance of the most intelligent portion of its citizens.[30] I endeavored to explain

28 *Advocate* of Jaunary 4, 1840.

29 He hurried down from Ashport to Memphis in order to keep an engagement, and went back to Ashport later.

30 This was Eugene Magevney's log school. Magevney was the first Catholic school-teacher in Memphis, and one of the earliest of any kind. The Male Academy, as it was called, stood in what is now the center of Court Square, today in the very heart of the business district of the city. Tradition, which is doubtless true, tells us that the first public mass said in the present Memphis was celebrated within the humble walls of this school.

what the Church really taught on the various subjects of which our Protestant brethren entertain such erroneous notions; and the result was that many of them generously offered to assist their Catholic fellow-citizens in the purchase of a lot and the erection of a Catholic church in their town. Messrs. Magevney, McKeon, Kenna, and Langan were appointed a Committee to select a lot and procure subscriptions for the building; and from the known Catholic spirit of these gentlemen, as well as the kind and liberal feelings of the citizens generally, we can have no doubt that in Memphis a Catholic church will soon be erected that will do honor to themselves and the holy religion we profess.[31]

Father Stokes possessed a buoyant disposition, which was no doubt partly sustained by Bishop Miles' unfailing cheerful temperament and his own previous missionary experiences in the Diocese of Charleston. He ever writes in the most optimistic spirit—doubtless due in a measure to his own as well as to the bishop's desire to attract Catholics and priests to Tennessee. In the course of his present letter, which we feel sure was written to Doctor Spalding, he says that he went from Memphis about forty miles down the river to attend some Catholics in Mississippi, and returned to Nashville *via* Memphis and Ashport, reaching home on Monday, December 16. During the journey, he travelled "seven hundred miles, principally on horseback." The close of the document deserves to be put in his own words. Here he tells us:

I administered the Blessed Sacrament to fifty-two persons, prepared some for death, and baptised a great number of children.

[31] Three of these gentlemen were Eugene Magevney, Patrick McKeon, and Patrick R. Kenna. The fourth always signs himself "M. Langan" in the documents we have seen. The *Advocate* of December 7, 1839, shows that Mrs. Henrietta Kenna, wife of P. R. Kenna, a native of Baltimore, and received into the Church at Cincinnati a few months before, died in Memphis on November 18, and was assisted by Father Stokes. Stokes' letter, from which we quote here, is dated: Nashville, Tennessee, December 19, 1839.

Could I have remained out longer, much more might be done; and had I a supply of books of instruction to distribute amongst those in whom a spirit of enquiry was excited, great good might be accomplished. But situated as we are, poor in every respect, and without clergy to aid us, we must only pray that the Father of the Faithful may assist us, and send us a few disinterested, laborious clergymen who will not seek in this world their reward, but be ever mindful of the solemn promise made when initiated amongst the clergy—*Dominus pars haereditatis meae, et calicis mei* [The Lord is the portion of my inheritance and of my cup].

Yours affectionately in Christ,

J. S [tokes].[32]

Nashville, Tennessee, December 19th, 1839.

In spite of sickness, poverty, and incessant labors far and near, the once dilapidated little cathedral that stood on Capitol Hill now became a temple of prayer worthy of the name. The bishop dedicated it to the Mother of God under the title of the Holy Rosary. "A Catholic", writing to the *Advocate,* January 27, 1839, says that "through the generous zeal of the flock, the kind liberality of their Protestant fellow-citizens, and the untiring exertions of the Bishop, the building has undergone a thorough repair, and, decorated in a chaste and simple style, is now really a beautiful church." A new organ had also been secured, and was used for the first time on Christmas Day. Doctor Miles, in his love of music and affectionate efforts to have the divine services as befitting as possible, had trained a choir of which several non-Catholics formed a part. The singing at both masses on the Feast of the Nativity was excellent.

Bishop Blanc must have extended his helping hand; for the *Advocate's* correspondent declares that the altar was exquisitely decorated, although his attention seems

[32] The *Advocate* makes Father Stoke's initial "T."—evidently an oversight.

to have been principally attracted by six large candlesticks sent by a Belgian lady in Brooklyn, New York. In the crowd that thronged the church were a number of non-Catholics, "among whom were noticed several members of the Legislature," then in session. After the Gospel, at the eleven o'clock mass, continues the *Advocate,* "the Bishop ascended the pulpit; and, cheered and animated as he evidently was, he delivered an admirable discourse on the mystery of the day." The joy of the little flock was beyond expression, delight glistened in every countenance. Christmas Day, 1839, the writer felt, would mark the beginning of a new era in the history of Catholicity in Nashville.[33]

Another source of happiness to Bishop Miles at this time was the acquisition of a second missionary, the Rev. William Clancy who came up from the Diocese of Mobile, where he had labored on the missions, as well as taught in Spring Hill College. A student at a seminary in the east had also offered his services, and the bishop expected to ordain him when he should go to the provincial council to be held at Baltimore, in May, 1840. All this is recounted in a letter of Father Stokes to the *Catholic Advocate* dated February 19, 1840.[34] Before leaving Nashville, however, Doctor Miles wished to inspect western Tennessee personally, that he might the better judge what arrangements he should make for that part of his diocese.

Accordingly, Father Stokes tells us, he and Father Clancy now journeyed to Ashport and Memphis. Because of the condition of the roads, the inclement

[33] *Advocate* of January 11, 1840.

[34] Copied from the *Advocate* in the *United States Catholic Miscellany* of April 4, 1840.

weather, and the state of the bishop's health, they travelled by boat, although this necessitated a much longer route, as well as prevented the bishop from going to other places which he wished to visit. At both towns the Catholics received them with unfeigned joy, while the non-Catholics treated them with great courtesy. The bishop preached many times, and helped Father Clancy in the administration of the sacraments. They returned to Nashville a few days before Father Stokes wrote his letter. Possibly Father Clancy accompanied his superior back to the episcopal city because of the still weakened condition of the latter's health, for it had already been determined that the missionary should be stationed at Memphis, with Ashport, Jackson, Bolivar, La Grange, and other places under his charge.

A little seminary had also been started with two students, under the patronage of Saint Joseph, while others were expected. Preparations were likewise under way for starting a school for the Catholic boys in Nashville. Doubtless it was in part his desire to obtain means wherewith to carry on these good works that now turned Bishop Miles' thoughts towards Europe.[35] But before we close this chapter, attention should be called to the fact that even optimistic Father Stokes realized the difficulties which had to be overcome ere the faith could be firmly planted in the soil of the new diocese; for here he remarks:

> Indeed, a more laborious mission, or one that requires more patient perseverance, than that of Tennessee is not to be found in the Union. But with a firm reliance on Providence, and our

35 In a letter of December 27, 1839, Father Stokes tells Doctor Spalding that the bishop puts his main reliance on this seminary, and that he will make every sacrifice to maintain it (Louisville Archives).

own humble co-operation, we have already abundant evidences that much good may be effected.

The *Catholic Almanac* for 1840 informs us that the principal "stations" then in the diocese were "Gallatin, Hartsville, Athens, Fayetteville, Memphis, Columbia, Jackson, and Franklin." From the same source we learn that Father Durbin volunteered occasionally to visit a few faithful in the northwestern part of the state. Father Ambrose J. Heim, stationed at New Madrid, Missouri, engaged to do the same for some across the Mississippi River from his mission.[36]

[36] Father Heim was a native of France, but he was ordained in Saint Louis—apparently in 1837. New Madrid seems to have been his first mission. From there he was sent to Illinois in 1842. In 1845 he became Bishop Kenrick's secretary and an assistant at the cathedral in Saint Louis, where he died on January 3, 1854.

CHAPTER XV

JOURNEY ABROAD AND CONTINUED LABOR

Bishop Miles was blessed with a no less rich fund of practical wisdom than of kindness and good humor. Nowhere have we found him accused of an unjust or even an uncharitable deed. His letters are almost uniformly benevolent. Yet, gentle though he was, he could be stern and inflexible if duty demanded it. Falsehood and insincerity he could not brook. Everywhere one reads that, even under the most trying circumstances, his spirit of cheerfulness never deserted him. Always prudent, rarely did he fail to act on the principle that what is left unsaid needs not to be retracted. A square deal to all was a dominant trait of his character. He neither became exuberant in his praise, nor harsh or over-critical in his correction; for he felt that both the one and the other were harmful, not beneficial, in their results. His good nature, tender heart, and well-balanced judgment all disposed him to approve and encourage, rather than to censure or dispirit.

Another characteristic of our shepherd of souls was the supreme command which he kept over his temper. Nevertheless, but this was only natural, he seems to have strongly resented the action of those men who were responsible for the miter being forced upon him, and then declined to consent that even one of their clergy might go to the aid of his needy diocese. It

provoked him that he should be left alone through what he believed to be their pious selfishness for their respective charges. However, he did not like to express his sentiments in his own words. It is this delicacy of feeling which explains Father Stokes' letter to the Rev. Martin J. Spalding, D.D., December 27, 1839: "The whole matter has so disedified Bishop Miles that he does not like for the present to trust himself on paper; and hence he requests me to write and say he will accept the young man whom you propose [for the seminary], and that he may come as soon as he pleases."[1]

Doubtless the anxiety in which his friend of the hierarchy was thus left had its part in determining Doctor Spalding, then president of Saint Joseph's College, Bardstown, to give *his* services to the Diocese of Nashville, if he could make such an arrangement within the bounds of prudence. The proposal brought a prompt response. Bishop Miles' letter reveals at once a keen appreciation of the generous offer, and a soul so noble that, greatly as it needed him, it would have the brilliant young priest think well before he sacrificed his opportunities in Kentucky for the doubtful prospects in Tennessee, where the future of the Church was still in a state of uncertainty.

Nashville, February 29, 1840.

Rev. and dear Friend:—

Your very kind and much esteemed favour of the 21st instant has been duly received, and has afforded me much consolation. The very idea that you may probably one day be among the clergy of my poor and heretofore cruelly neglected Diocese gives me a pleasure which I cannot express. Not forgetful, however, of the admonition you gave me, I will not permit my hopes to go

[1] Louisville Archives.

so far as to suffer from disappointment as much as I have heretofore in cases of a similar nature of much less importance. As I expect soon to see you, I will not enter into any particulars, but desire you to recommend the matter seriously to Almighty God.

As the time for the Council is approaching, I have thought it would be as well to defer consulting with Bishop Rosati until I meet him at Baltimore. And if you will be kind enough to accompany me as Theologian, you will not only add another to the very many favours I have already received at your hands, but you will have a better opportunity of consulting with the assembled Prelates on the propriety of joining the mission of Tennessee. I shall be much flattered if this favour can be granted.

As I shall have business of importance to attend to before the Council, I shall leave home in the latter part of the next month; and shall, if possible, be at St. Rose for the first Sunday in April, immediately after which I hope to see you in Bardstown. I shall endeavour to reach Somerset, Ohio, for Holy Week. In case you could not leave home before Easter, you could perhaps join me at the latter place after Easter. I do not wish Dr. Chabrat to know anything about these matters until I see you. I will then give you my reason why I make this request; that is, if you don't guess it before I come.

The young man you sent me arrived safe; and, although somewhat awkward, seems to be well disposed, and will I hope prove useful. Another has just arrived from Georgia. And our seminary has commenced with this small beginning. The ordoes have not yet reached us. We are obliged to use the *Catholic Almanac* as a substitute. Very Rev. Mr. Stokes sends you a portion of the good feelings with which he abounds.

I am, Rev. and dear Friend,
Sincerely yours in Christ.
† Richard Pius,
Bishop of Nashville.[2]

Bishop Miles had now been out of his sick-room for several months; yet he was by no means well. Doubtless he had already turned his mind towards Rome that

2 Baltimore Archives, Case 35, I, 7.

he might consult the head of the Church on the needs of his diocese, and obtain from the Catholics of Europe wherewith to carry on the good works which he had begun. Some priests might also be induced to offer themselves for Tennessee. In this plan the zealous prelate but followed the example of our bishops before him, nearly all of whom had recourse to this way of supplying their wants.[3]

Possibly he had also spoken to his friends about the idea. At any rate, the doctors, who were uneasy about his health, now took up the matter, and urged an early voyage across the ocean as positively necessary for regaining his strength. Once he should be at Baltimore, the journey would be fairly begun. The bishop therefore determined to continue his way abroad. Much of the time between the date of his letter to Father Spalding and his departure from Nashville was no doubt given to preparations for this undertaking. Meanwhile, through the *Catholic Advocate,* he addressed the following pastoral letter to the faithful of his diocese—perhaps the first of its kind ever seen in Tennessee.

Richard Pius, by the Grace of God, and with the approbation of the Holy See, Bishop of Nashville,

To our beloved Brethren, the Roman Catholic Laity of the Diocese of Nashville, Health and Benediction.

Beloved Brethren:—

About to undertake a voyage to Europe for the purpose of exposing the wants of our Diocese, and soliciting in our favour the generous charities of our Catholic brethren in Italy, France, and Germany to enable us, before we die, to form some religious foundations, by which you, and generations yet to come, will be

[3] Only a study of our early Church can give us a correct idea of the enormous debt of gratitude which we owe to the Catholics of Europe at that time.

preserved and instructed in Divine Truth—urged, moreover, by our physician not to delay our voyage, now thought indispensable for the perfect restoration of our health—we could not think of departing without making to you this our Pastoral Address.

Called to the elevated station we so unworthily occupy, and deeply sensible of our utter unworthiness for so responsible, so dignified, an office, in vain did we remonstrate in all sincerity with his present Holiness, Pope Gregory XVI, and solicit permission to decline the burthen of the Episcopacy. Acquainted, however, with your spiritual privations, and fearing that by any further postponement we would resist the will of Heaven, and that through our fault souls redeemed by the Saviour's blood might perish—trusting solely to the mercies of our God, who alone is capable of strengthening our weakness, and imparting to us wisdom and knowledge—we at length submitted to the will of the Holy Father, and were consecrated Bishop of Nashville in the month of September, 1838.

Having already passed eighteen months of our Episcopacy amongst you, you yourselves are witnesses whether we can say with truth that "we are clear from the blood of all," mindful, as we trust we have been, of the charge of the Holy Apostle to the Ephesian Bishops: "Take heed to yourselves, and to all the flock, over which the Holy Ghost has placed you Bishops to rule the Church of God" (Acts, XX, 28). It is well, beloved brethren, if you also can say with truth you have observed the solemn precept that concerns you: "Obey your prelates, and be subject to them; for they watch as being to render an account of your souls, that they may do this with joy, and not with grief; for this is not expedient for you" (Hebrews, XIII, 17).

We cannot, however, conceal from our own heart that, whilst we have been sometimes consoled and edified, we have yet had more cause for grief than for joy since our elevation to the Episcopal dignity. Unable for an entire year to procure the assistance of one useful priest; having no church in which to offer with decency the mysteries of our holy religion; obliged to peril our own health by attending distant missions; and still anxious to succeed in preparing our church, and organizing our flock in our Episcopal See, we would have sunk under the weight of our cares and labors, were

we not sustained by the merciful Providence of God. Our grief, indeed, would have been mitigated, and, midst all the trials to which we have been subjected, our joy would have been great, had we found amongst our flock all that *zeal for religion,* that devotion to its solemn duties, that anxiety to profit by the saving mysteries of our faith, which have distinguished the Faithful Christians of every age.

You are witnesses, beloved brethren, how frequently we have admonished you that we "have kept back nothing that was profitable to you, but have preached it to you, and taught you publicly, and from house to house" (Acts, XX, 20). You will bear witness that, with the Holy Apostle, we have not ceased to treat "of justice, and chastity, and of the judgment to come" (Acts, XXIV, 25). We call you to witness how often we have urged you to approach the tribunal of penance for the remission of your sins, that you might become worthy to partake of the blessed body and blood of your God and Saviour in the Most Holy Eucharist, remembering the awful declaration of Divine Truth: "Amen, amen, I say to you, unless you eat of the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink His blood, you shall not have life in you" (St. John, VI, 54). Can you, beloved brethren, notwithstanding this solemn enunciation of our Blessed Redeemer, yet flatter yourselves with the hope of immortal life, if you obey not His commands, or despise His threats and promises?

Willing to make all allowance for a people so long left without a ministry, we allude not to the painful part for the purpose of afflicting you on the eve of our departure, but rather to urge you to a more serious consideration of your duty, that in our absence you may be mindful of our parting counsel, and no longer remain strangers to that peace which your holy religion so abundantly imparts. We desire to be able to say with St. Paul: "Out of much affliction and anguish of heart, I wrote to you with many tears, not that you should be made sorrowful, but that you might know the charity I have more abundantly towards you" (2 Cor., II, 4).

Once again, imploring you with all affection and charity, beloved brethren, to begin in earnest to do penance, [we exhort you] to comply, as far as your condition and circumstances permit, with the

penitential exercises of this season of Lent; to "be converted in all your heart, in fasting, and in weeping, and in mourning" (Joel, II, 12), at *this holy time* when, "between the porch and the altar, the priests, the Lord's ministers, shall weep, and shall say: Spare Lord, spare Thy people; and give not Thy inheritance to reproach" (Joel, II, 17). Now, in fine, when you are exhorted in the language of the Prophet "to wash yourselves; be clean [we beg of you]; take away your devices from my eyes; *cease to do perversely; learn to do well;* seek judgment; relieve the oppressed; judge for the fatherless; defend the widow. And then come, and accuse me, sayeth the Lord: If your sins be as scarlet they shall be made white as snow; and if they be red as crimson, they shall be white as wool" (Isaias, I, 16, 17, 18).

Can you, beloved brethren, resist those tender assurances of our heavenly Father, refuse to promote your own peace, and afford us consolation? Indeed, we hope for better things from you. You will not be ungrateful for the many blessings you have already received; and you will be "our joy and our crown." We have appointed our Vicar General, the Very Rev. Joseph Stokes, to minister to the spiritual wants of our beloved flock of the diocese of Nashville during our absence. In his zeal, piety, learning, and experience we have unlimited confidence, and we require of our clergy and people to pay to his authority the respect and obedience due to ourself in person.

And now, beloved brethren, promising to be ever mindful of you in our prayers and sacrifices, and commending ourself to the pious supplications to Heaven in our favour of our brethren and children in Christ, "the Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the charity of God, and the communication of the Holy Ghost be with you all. Amen."

Given at our Episcopal residence, Nashville, Tennessee, March 9, 1840.

† Richard Pius
Bishop of Nashville.[4]

This pastoral letter speaks for itself. It reveals a shepherd of souls pure of heart, profoundly humble, deeply religious, abounding in zeal and affection for his

[4] *Catholic Advocate,* March 21, 1840.

flock, ever ready to sacrifice himself for their salvation. It presents a picture of a man of God whose life illustrates the old adage which tells us that virtue avoids extremes, and follows the safe and sound middle course (*In medio stat virtus*).

Possibly leaving Father Clancy in temporary charge at Nashville, before he should settle at Memphis, Bishop Miles and his vicar general started for Saint Rose's, in Kentucky, where they arrived on the Sunday evening of March 29. There they met Bishop Purcell, Father John McElroy, one of the best known Jesuits of Maryland, and Father Francis X. Evremond, S.J., of Saint Mary's College, in Kentucky. It was at Saint Rose's, no doubt, that the Father of the Church in Tennessee made arrangements for the mission at Nashville of which we shall speak later. There also, with the permission of Bishop Flaget, Doctor Miles raised Brother Augustine Anderson to the priesthood on April 5, 1840, and administered confirmation to the children of the parish.[5]

The correspondent of the *Telegraph,* who gives us this information, says that Saint Rose's Church was too small to admit all who came for the occasion; that there were many non-Catholics present; and that a main force which drew the crowd was the love of the people for Bishop Miles, who declared that he had passed the happiest years of his life there. How "A Visitor," as the writer styles himself, was impressed may be seen from the second sentence of his communication, in which he states: "I have made several visits to many of the religious establishments of Kentucky, and have always been edified; but I do not recollect that I have at any

[5] *Catholic Telegraph,* May 9, 1840.

former period been more edified than on a recent visit to the Convent of St. Rose, occupied by the priests of the Order of St. Dominic."[6]

From Saint Rose's the bishop proceeded to Cincinnati, where he gained two recruits for his diocese—the Revs. Michael McAleer and William O. C. Morgan. As the Catholic Telegraph of April 25, 1840, tells us:

> Right Rev. Dr. Miles, bishop of Nashville, left this city on Tuesday for Somerset, Perry County. . . . The bishop was accompanied by the Very Rev. Mr. Stokes, Vicar General of Nashville, . . . Rev. Michael McAleer and Rev. Mr. Morgan, the latter of whom was ordained subdeacon on Saturday and deacon on Sunday last by Dr. Miles in the German Catholic Church of this city. The two last named gentlemen have resolved to labor in the new diocese, where we wish them every success.[7]

From this source, then, we learn that Father Morgan, a convert, a very saintly man, and the first priest ordained for the Diocese of Nashville, as well as the first of its clergymen to die, received subdeaconship and deaconship in Holy Trinity Church, Cincinnati, on April 18 and 19, 1840. Most likely he was promoted to the priesthood by Doctor Miles, a few days later, at Saint Joseph's, near Somerset, Ohio. Thence he no doubt went immediately to Nashville with Father Stokes; while the bishop continued his way, *via* Mount Saint Mary's College, to the metropolis of Maryland. Doctor Spalding's plan of joining the Nashville Diocese did not materialize, which probably explains why he failed to accompany Doctor Miles to the council, where the Rev. Benedict Bayer, C.SS.R., of Baltimore

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Telegraph,* April 25, 1840. We have not been able to ascertain where Father Morgan made his ecclesiastical studies. Possibly he began them in Ireland, and completed them at Cincinnati.

acted as theologian for the Friar Preacher prelate.[8]

Prior to this time, October 10, 1839, Father Stokes had written a letter to the Rev. John McCaffrey, D.D., president of Mount Saint Mary's College, Emmitsburg, Maryland, in which he says: "The Diocese of Nashville, as I presume you are aware, was in a most desolate condition until the appointment in 1838 of Bishop Miles, and, what is still more distressing, none are found willing to share his labors and privations. He has been alone, without a priest, almost since his consecration." Then the document goes on to tell how the bishop's delicacy of conscience forbids him "to hold out inducements to good men occupied in other places," and puts in an urgent plea for two seminarians who have about completed their studies.[9]

Similarly, on February 19, 1840, Stokes wrote to the *Advocate* that the bishop would ordain a young man for the diocese "when he visits Maryland" for the council; and on August 6, 1840, in a letter to the same paper, he states that the Rev. John Maguire, an alumnus of Mount Saint Mary's, was then in Tennessee. So is it certain that Doctor Miles stopped at that historic institution on his way to Baltimore, and that a John Maguire was one of the prefects there for the school year of 1839-1840. From these facts, although we have found no positive statement to that effect, we are of the opinion that the subject of our narrative then ordained the second priest for his diocese.[10]

8 *Telegraph*, May 30, and *Advocate*, June 6, and *Miscellany*, May 23, 1840.

9 Meline-McSweeney, *The Story of the Mountain*, I, 405-406.

10 We did not discover the *Advocate* with Stoke's letter of February 19, 1840; but it is copied in the *Miscellany* of April 4, 1840. See also *Advocate*, August 22, 1840; Meline-McSweeney, *op. cit.*, I, 402; *Miscellany*, May 23, 1840. A correspondent of the *Catholic Herald* (issue of

However this may be, the bishop reached his journey's end on May 13. It was possibly Bishop England who, May 14, wrote to his splendid paper the news about the impending council. In the course of his letter, when telling of the arrival of Doctor Miles, he uses words that are significative of no little affection.

On the afternoon [of Wednesday, May 14, he says] the zealous bishop of Cincinnati arrived from the College of Emmitsburg, over which he had formerly presided with so much advantage. With him came the pioneer of Tennessee, the laborious Doctor Miles, bishop of Nashville, considerably improved in health—and with as good bone and sinew and height as any of the sharpshooters of that state who lined the cotton bags of New Orleans.[11]

Although this was the first council attended by the subject of our narrative in his capacity as a member of the hierarchy, no digest of its labors seems called for here. Suffice it to say that the prelates assembled on Saturday, May 16, 1840, and that the council was formally opened the next day with a solemn high mass sung by Archbishop Eccleston, and an eloquent sermon preached by the illustrious Doctor England. All the administering bishops were present, except the Right Rev. John Hughes of New York, who was in Europe. The fathers of the council admitted to its sessions Bishop Charles A. de Forbin-Janson of France who

February 13, 1845) says that Father Maguire was the first priest ordained by Bishop Miles, which is evidently an error. Possibly that writer meant to say that he was the first clergyman ordained by the prelate then living in his diocese.

[11] *United States Catholic Miscellany*, May 23, 1840. "The cotton bags of New Orleans" are a good-natured reference to the battle of New Orleans (January 8, 1815), in which General Andrew Jackson, largely aided by raw troups from Tennessee, defeated the English under Sir Edward Packenham. The British made breastworks of hogsheads of sugar; the Americans used cotton bales.

was then on a visit to the United States, and drew up a letter of condolence and consolation to the archbishops of Cologne and Posen who were suffering the trials of persecution at the hands of Frederick William III, king of Prussia.[12]

When the council closed, Bishops Miles, Rosati, and Portier were appointed a committee to take its proceedings to Rome. They were also entrusted with duplicates of the letter of encouragement sent by the American hierarchy to the German metropolitans. Sailing from New York on the *British Queen,* June 1, he and Bishops Portier and Rosati reached Portsmouth on the seventeenth, and were in Paris by the nineteenth. Bishop Miles still suffered from the effects of his late illness; for which reason he feared to face the heat of a summer in Rome. After a time spent at Paris, therefore, he went to Belgium, where he knew Fathers John V. De Ray-

[12] *Concilia Provincialia Baltimori,* 159 ff; *Telegraph,* May 30, and *Advocate,* June 6, 1840. The prelates who took part in this council were the Most Rev. Samuel Eccleston of Baltimore, and the Right Revs. Benedict J. Flaget of Bardstown, John England of Charleston, Joseph Rosati of Saint Louis, Benedict J. Fenwick of Boston, Francis P. Kenrick of Philadelphia (coadjutor and administrator), John B. Purcell of Cincinnati, Anthony Blanc of New Orleans, Mathias Loras of Dubuque, Richard P. Miles of Nashville, and Celestine de La Hailandière of Vincennes. The Right Revs. Henry Conwell of Philadelphia and John Dubois of New York were incapacitated by age and infirmity; whilst the Right Revs. Frederic Rese of Detroit and John Hughes of New York (coadjutor and administrator) were in Europe. The Right Rev. Guy I. Chabrat, coadjutor of Bardstown, was possibly detained at home by ill health or labor.

A digest of the decrees of this council is given in Shea's *History of the Church,* III, 452 ff. Guilday's *National Pastorals* gives (pp. 120 ff) its pastoral letter to the country. The *Miscellany* of June 20 and the *Telegraph* of July 4, 1840, contain Latin and English renditions of the letter which the fathers of the council sent to the archbishops of Cologne and Posen.

maecker and Francis Adrian Van De Weyer, both of whom had been on the American missions.[13]

At Ghent, he enjoyed the warm hospitality of Fathers Pius Braeckman and Francis Ackerman, two aged Friars Preacher who had lately begun to reorganize their province after its suppression by the French Revolution and the division of United Netherlands, in 1830. Father Braeckman had always shown a keen interest in our American missions, putting himself at the disposal of our bishops who went to his country in search of aid. In the father of Catholicity in Tennessee he took a particular interest. From the convent in Ghent, which he used as the center of his activities, he traversed Belgium in every direction, and was doubtless accompanied by one or the other of his hosts. While there, with the permission of the bishop of the place, he seems to have held an ordination in their conventual church. Most likely he took with him the letters of the Baltimore council, getting them to the archbishop of Cologne through the aforesaid friends.[14]

The Friars Preacher of Holland also gave Doctor Miles a hearty welcome; but Fathers John D. Ranken of Rotterdam and Raymond Van Zeeland of Schiedam appear to have been especially active in his welfare. Here the bishop made Father Ranken's home the chief base of his quest after aid.[15] Among the gifts received

[13] *Telegraph,* June 13 and September 12, 1840; *Miscellany,* June 13 and September 26, 1840; Rev. Hercules Brassac, Paris, July 7, 1840, to Bishop Purcell (McCann, *History of Mother Seton's Daughters,* I, 290).

[14] A manuscript life of Fathers Braeckman and Ackerman in French—translated from Flemish (Archives of the Dominican Master General, Codex III, 42); *Advocate,* September 19, 1840; *Miscellany,* October 17, 1840.

[15] There are a number of letters in the Archives of the Province of Holland which show that the Dominicans there did all they could to help Bishop Miles. In this connection, it may be noted that the only aid which

in Holland was an extra-large monstrance of solid silver, trimmed in gold, and set with precious stones. The chasing is most delicate and artistic in character. Today, because regarded as a relic, it is used only on special solemnities. On its base is a Latin inscription which, rendered into English, reads:

"The Year of Our Lord 1841. To the King of Kings, Jesus Christ, and His Apostle in the United States of North America, Richard Pius Miles of the Order of Preachers, the first Bishop of Nashville, the clergy and people of Uden, Holland, have made a gift of this ostensorium."[16]

Although we have run across but one brief mention of the bishop in France after his departure from Paris for Belgium, it goes without saying that he spent some time in that country before he returned home. The Association for the Propagation of the Faith had given him 26,827 francs for his diocese in 1839. The next year, possibly as a result of his presence, his allowance was raised to 33,900; but in 1841, perhaps because of what he had received elsewhere, it was lowered to 24,600 francs. October 18, 1839, and January 3, 1840, he had

the American Province of Saint Joseph received from abroad was the mite which their brethren in Holland and Belgium began to turn towards them from those countries about this time. The annals of the French and Austrian associations for the propagation of the faith mention rather generous help bestowed on all the other orders in the United States, but none to the Dominicans, with the exception of the modest donations made to Father Mazzuchelli in Wisconsin from 1844 to 1849. Perhaps one of the reasons for this apparent oversight was that the fathers neglected to write for aid. However, a tradition, borne out by a letter soon to be quoted, tells us that Bishop Purcell absolutely demanded that all donations for the missions in Ohio should be sent to him.

16 A. D. MDCCCXLI. Regi Regum, Jesu Christo, et Apostolo ejus in Americae Septentrionalis provinciis foederatis, Richardo Pio Miles, Ordinis Praedicatorum, primo Episcopo Nashvillensi, hoc Ostensorium dono dederunt Clerus populusque Udenses, in Hollandia.

written to the Association, whose *Annales* published extracts from both letters.[17] As these probably contain the gist of what he told the French people at the time of his visit, we give their main facts, omitting only those which have been recounted in documents already laid before the reader.

When he went to Tennessee, the state had not had a resident pastor for ten years. Here he evidently refers to Father Cosgreve. Only a few localities were visited, at long intervals, by a missionary. Through this isolation and neglect, the Catholics became scattered like sheep without a pastor. Some of them left the state in order to find spiritual nourishment for their souls elsewhere. Others have grown weak in their faith, or even lost it. In the cases of mixed marriages, the children have uniformly grown up non-Catholics. In great stretches of the state our religion has left scarcely a memory.

Then he tells how he took possession of his episcopal city with its dilapidated church, which is still the only one in the diocese; and how he found not more than one hundred and thirty Catholics there, only twelve of whom received holy communion after much preaching and exhortation. There are now perhaps three hundred faithful in Nashville. When the two priests who came for his induction returned to their homes, he was left alone in his endless missionary efforts, unable to answer all the calls for spiritual succor that came from widely separated places. After riding on horseback about nine hundred miles over mountains, through forests, and by

17 *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi,* XII, 225; XIII, 125, 190; XIV, 171.

way of rough roads, as well as in the hottest part of the year, his health failed him.[18]

Then he became sick, and was at the door of death when God sent him a priest whose zeal and piety gave him his first ray of hope and consolation. The popular prejudices against the faith are not hard to overcome. Wherever the Catholic doctrine is preached the people of other beliefs manifest an anxiety to hear it explained at length. Not a few have expressed a desire to have a Catholic church and a priest in their midst. The faithful along the Mississippi River are striving to erect churches in the hope that the bishop will soon be able to send them priests; but what can he do without either means or missionaries? All efforts have failed him in both regards. Having nothing himself, and taken from a cloister that is unable to help him, he labors under disadvantages which the other bishops were not obliged to confront.

He had started a little seminary in his residence. For the maintenance of this and his priests he must trust to the Association for the Propagation of the Faith, which has already laid him under obligations which he can not forget. His own people are not able to defray the travelling expenses of their pastors. If God will but send him a few more good missionaries, and the Catholics of Europe supply the means for their support, the bishop will be able to say: "Now, O Lord, dismiss Thy servant in peace."[19]

From Bordeaux the bishop went to Vienna in response to an invitation to visit that city. In Austria,

[18] This shows that Bishop Miles spent the summer of 1839 in travelling from place to place through Tennessee.

[19] *Annales,* XIII, 125-128.

there can be no doubt, he also received donations from the Leopoldine Association established specially for the assistance of the American missions. Thence he retraced his steps to Rome, possibly reaching the Eternal City by the Christmas holidays in 1840; for we find him there early in the next year.[20] In Italy he evidently received a letter from the provincial of the American Friars Preacher touching on the misguided Capellari-Velzi compact of 1828, by which Saint Joseph's Province was directed to give the bishop of Cincinnati three hundred dollars a year, unless he should be a Dominican; but which the fathers felt certainly to be illegal, because based on misrepresentation and going beyond the authority of their General. Besides, it could not be observed in their state of poverty. In reply Miles wrote (Rome, January 16, 1841) to Father Charles P. Montgomery:

I hope your letter to the Society [for the Propagation of the Faith] at Lyons will have the desired effect. I shall certainly do all in my power, though I have reason to believe that this and the existing difficulty with your Bishop will bring me in conflict with him; which I regret, as I have a great regard for him. You must try to conciliate his feelings, and take care that none of your community say or do anything that may widen the breach already so wide. You will never gain anything by being at war with your Bishop. Father Grace has prepared a memorial to present to the Propaganda for a rehearing of the matter between you. I feel convinced that, if the matter is rightly understood here, there will be no difficulty in settling it to your satisfaction. It also appears to me that if Bishop Purcell understood the matter correctly he would not make the demand.[21]

20 *Catholic Advocate,* February 6, 1841; Miles, Rome, February 18, 1841, to the Right Rev. Joseph O'Finan, Ireland (Archives of Saint Joseph's Province). The *Advocate* shows that he wrote to friends in Nashville from Vienna, November 1, 1840.

21 Archives of Saint Joseph's Priory. This letter substantiates the

Bishop Miles spent about two months at Rome. Of the impression he made in the capital of Christendom one may judge by the fact that happy traditions of his sojourn still exist among the Friars Preacher of that city. On his return journey he most likely passed through France again. April 10 (Holy Saturday), 1841, he "held an ordination in the new and splendid church of the Dominicans at Rotterdam." After another stay in Holland and Belgium, he possibly passed over to England and Ireland. Be that as it may, it was August 26, when he reached New York on his way back to Tennessee.[22]

Zanesville and Somerset, Ohio, and Saint Rose's, in Kentucky, not only lay on his homeward route, but were also the places which he loved most next to his own diocese. Accordingly, he halted at them all. While at Saint Joseph's, he administered confirmation to the children of that parish, Holy Trinity (in Somerset), and Saint Patrick's, Junction City.[23] Because of these delays, the bishop did not reach Nashville until Saturday, October 9, 1841. The joy of the people was unbounded; but we can not do better than let Father Stokes, for the style seems to be his, tell the story.

tradition mentioned in note 15. The matter of giving the ordinary of Cincinnati three hundred dollars annually, which was the cause of the unpleasantness referred to by Miles, dragged along for twenty years or more. Bishop Purcell, who had been in Rome and taken up the affair there shortly before Bishop Miles' visit, acted harshly from the start. However, it is said that in Father N. D. Young he met his match in hard blows. See also Lamott's *History of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati,* pp. 181 ff. Father Grace, who made out the memorial in behalf of his brethren in 1841, afterwards became the second bishop of Saint Paul. It is impossible for one to study the case on its merits and not come to the conclusion that justice and right were on the side of Saint Joseph's Province.

22 The *Catholic Advocate,* June 5 and September 25, 1841.

23 Parish records; *Advocate* (quoting the *Telegraph*), October 23, 1841.

Mr. Editor:—

Our beloved Prelate has arrived. Our *Bishop,* our *father,* and our *friend,* whose absence in Europe for more than eighteen months was the subject of so much regret, has by his return gladdened the hearts of his flock, and diffused by his presence universal joy. As soon as the day was announced on which the Bishop's arrival might be expected, the Catholics of Nashville, composed of French, Italian, German, Irish, and American people, with one accord resolved to honor and greet his return by going in a body several miles distant from the town to meet him. Accordingly, about one o'clock, P.M., on Saturday last, a train of carriages, filled with members of our flock, and followed by a number of persons on horseback, proceeded from town at a rapid pace, and in excellent order. The flock were anxious to meet their Bishop some ten or a dozen miles from the town; not more, however, than three or four miles had been gone over, when the priests, who occupied the first carriage in the procession, recognized at a distance their Bishop travelling in a gig, accompanied by one of his clergy, a native of Corsica.

The horses were immediately checked; the carriages soon unoccupied; those on horseback dismounted; and all, with uncovered heads and heartfelt joy, approached their Bishop who was soon amongst them, blessing with a fond affection all those who sought in this way to testify their love and veneration for their Prelate. The smiles of joy; the holiday attire; the hearty welcome, better expressed in manner than in words, affected the good Bishop even to tears, and with a truly pastoral affection he blessed his spiritual children.

When the congratulations had ceased, the Bishop ascended the open carriage provided for him, and with him sat his Vicar General and the worthy Pastor of Memphis, the Rev. Mr. McAleer. The order of the procession was resumed; and all, in the finest spirits, and rejoicing at the improved health and appearance of their much beloved father, accompanied him to the episcopal residence, in Nashville. As soon as the Bishop had paid his adoration to the Blessed Sacrament, in his domestic chapel, he was again surrounded by his flock, receiving the congratulations of his affectionate children. The boys of our school then appeared, bearing a flag of

white satin on which was inscribed, in simple but beautiful language, their congratulations for the happy return of their Bishop and Father. Indeed, so delighted was the good Prelate with the evidences of attachment he this day received from his children in Christ that he was heard to pronounce it the happiest day of his life. And well indeed may the Catholics of Tennessee rejoice at so zealous, pious, and amiable a Prelate.[24]

On the following day a solemn mass of thanksgiving for Doctor Miles' safe return was sung by Father Stokes, with Father Nicholas Savelli as deacon, and Father Louis Stokes as subdeacon. Before the mass, the bishop addressed the worshippers in a way that showed not only his love for them and his delight to be home again, but likewise the happiness afforded him by the brighter prospects of his diocese. In the afternoon, he gave benediction, and preached. On both occasions, there were present a number of liberal-minded non-Catholics, among them several members of the state legislature.[25]

Bishop Miles had every reason to be pleased with his vicar general, for he proved not less faithful to the instructions given him than zealous in his labors. In a letter of date August 6, 1840, he tells the readers of the *Advocate* how, through the coming of the three priests mentioned earlier (Fathers Morgan, McAleer, and Maguire), the labors have become lighter for each, the fruitage greater, and the outlook more cheerful. Father Morgan, perhaps because of his infirm health, was

[24] *Catholic Advocate,* October 23, 1841. The letter to the *Advocate* bears date October 12, 1841.

[25] "Catholicus," the *Advocate's* correspondent, states this was the third anniversary of the Bishop's entrance into Nashville, which is not quite exact; for Father J. T. Jarboe's letters in the *Advocates* of October 12 and November 10, 1838, show that the anniversary had passed by a few days. See the beginning of Chapter XIV.

placed in Nashville, and given charge of the little seminary.[26]

An object of great solicitude to our respected Bishop [the letter then says] has been to secure to the Diocese Priests of true Apostolic spirit, prepared to do all things, "to spend and be spent" for the sake of their Divine Master. Knowing also the character and intelligence of the people of Tennessee, he was most desirous that his missionaries should possess the necessary qualifications to preach with success, and to explain with satisfaction to our citizens the *real* doctrines of the Church. Two missionaries were, for this purpose, to be selected to travel together as a mutual support for each other—to be pious, exemplary, and fully competent to announce in a becoming manner the word of eternal life.

Before the Bishop's departure for Europe, he instructed his Vicar General to have this design carried into effect as soon as practical. A merciful Providence appears to favor the good Bishop's zeal, and we are happy to state that, with the divine blessing, his best wishes are about to be realized to their fullest extent. Two zealous, disinterested clergymen, properly qualified, have recently joined our missions, and joyfully undertaken the enviable office of evangelizing a great portion of our Diocese. The Rev. Michael McAleer and Rev. John Maguire, both alumni of St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg, have been appointed, and already commenced their duties as travelling missionaries.

The week previous they had preached in Gallatin and Hartsville, Sumner County, where the Catholics are good, and perhaps will soon be sufficient in number to support a pastor. Next week they will go to Franklin, and thence to Columbia. A priest, Father Clancy, is stationed at Memphis. Two are at Nashville, Father Stokes himself and Father Morgan.

In like manner, Father Stokes' letter of September 4, 1840, tells how Fathers McAleer and Maguire had gone to Franklin, Williamson County, on August 15, preached to both Catholics and non-Catholics, made a

26 *Advocate,* August 22, 1840; *Catholic Almanac,* 1841, p. 172.

splendid impression, and felt that a pastor might be stationed at that town in the near future, and find the means of a decent support. From Franklin they proceeded to Columbia, Maury County. On their route they met a "man calling himself a Catholic who had not seen a priest for forty years." In Maury County the missionaries also came across "several nominal Catholics, some with very numerous families; but in no instance did they find one family *wholly* or *strictly* Catholic. The unhappy parents, educated themselves in the truth of the Catholic faith, permit their children to unite in worship with their Protestant neighbors."

At Columbia, where they arrived on August 20, and in the neighborhood, the ambassadors of Christ reported "some of respectable standing in society, once Catholic, but who, from long habits of neglect, are distinguished from their Protestant brethren by no character or merit of Catholicity. . . . They have unhappily forgotten what their holy religion taught them in early youth, and have in some instances added to their fault by an ungenerous renunciation of their creed." It will not be long before a priest may be stationed in Maury County. From Columbia the missionaries travelled to Shelbyville, in Bedford County.

At all these places they preached either in some non-Catholic church or the court-house. Everywhere it is the same old tale of mixed marriages, long neglect, eventual carelessness in matters religious, and, more frequently than otherwise, final apostasy. As is always the case, there is more hope for conversions among the non-Catholics than among those who have fallen away from the Church.

Father Clancy of Memphis has spent a week at Jackson, Madison County, where he preached nearly every evening in the Baptist church with good results. Stokes trusts that a Catholic church will soon be built in that "beautiful town." The proprietors of the proposed new city of "Fort Pickering", just below Memphis, have offered a lot for a church, and it is probable that one will be built there, instead of at Memphis, for the faithful in that part of the state.[27]

From the same source we learn that Doctor Spalding spent a part of his vacation in the summer of 1840 at Nashville. Possibly he promised the bishop this favor in order to appease his disappointment for not joining his diocese or accompanying him to Baltimore as his theologian at the council. However this be, the eloquent divine frequently electrified the people of Nashville by the sermons and lectures which he then delivered in the Holy Rosary Cathedral. In speaking of Doctor Spalding's labors, Father Stokes says: "We sincerely pray that the good Bishop of Bardstown may be induced to relinquish his claim upon his services in favor of a Diocese which needs so much the zeal, and talents, and learning of men like him." Spalding himself is anxious to come to Nashville. Bishop England also promised Doctor Miles at the Baltimore Council that he would soon visit Tennessee's capital, and give a course of lectures.[28]

27 *Advocate* of September 19, 1840.

28 The same issue of the *Advocate* and a record in the book of baptisms on August 30, 1840, show that Doctor Spalding was in Nashville in late August and early September. It is possible that his desire for an active apostolate in Tennessee cost him his position as president of Saint Joseph's College; for we soon find him stationed at Lexington, Kentucky. See his Life by J. L. Spalding, pp. 83 ff.

Meanwhile Father Morgan was taken ill, which necessitated Father Maguire's being retained at Nashville. For this reason, Father McAleer made the next tour alone. Stokes' letter on these labors is not dated, but it was evidently written about the middle of November. The missionary left Nashville on October 2 for the lower counties of middle Tennessee. On Sunday the fourth, he said mass and preached in the house of a Catholic in Williamson County. Taking in the parts of Maury County that lay on his route, he then visited Pulaski, Giles County, some eighty miles south of Nashville.

At Fayetteville, Lincoln County, where he used the Cumberland Presbyterian church for preaching, he enjoyed the hospitality of Matthew Martin. At Winchester, Franklin County, the next place visited, the missionary preached in the Methodist church, and discovered several Catholics who had hitherto escaped notice. Returning to Pulaski, he now preached there. But one Catholic lived in that town, and *he* did not hear the sermon. Of the second visit to Pulaski Father Stokes says:

> As this was the first time that a Catholic Priest was known to have preached in this town, you may well imagine the great anxiety manifested to see and hear one. Many seemed to be of the opinion that some one *not human* was to make his appearance in the shape of a Catholic Priest; and to their utter surprise they at length discovered that, in the person of our missionary, a human being not very unlike many among themselves spoke, and preached, and reasoned, and even sustained his doctrines by appropriate texts of Scripture.

Father McAleer received the greatest kindness everywhere. His tour took a month. One priest can not well attend to all west Tennessee. This part of the

state therefore will be visited next in order.[29]

Unfortunately, death and departure came all too soon with their derangement of the plans which Bishop Miles had mapped out, and which his vicar general was following with scrupulous fidelity. Father Morgan's health obliged him to take what seems to have been thought would be only a temporary rest. He went to Lexington, Kentucky, where he died November 10.[30] The death of this saintly young priest was a severe loss for the new and struggling diocese. Whilst not so sad,

[29] *Advocate,* November 21, 1840.

[30] The obituary notice in the *Advocate* of November 21, 1840, runs as follows: "Died on the morning of the 10th instant, in Lexington, Kentucky, of pulmonary consumption, the Rev. William O. C. Morgan, of the Roman Catholic Church. The deceased was a native of the city of Dublin, Ireland, had but lately received ordination, and was attached to the Diocess of Nashville. Though far removed from his relations and country, yet Religion provided for him in a distant land new friends and brothers, who sweetened the cup of his sorrows, and smoothed the pillow of death. She herself, as the handmaid of Heaven, came, shedding her hallowed influence around his death-bed, assuaging every pain, softening every pang, and opening upon the eyes of his faith a bright and glorious vista in the future.

"He bore his protracted illness here with heroic fortitude, edifying all who were in attendance. His faith shone out in every circumstance of his painful illness; and he expired with a smile upon his countenance. Mr. Morgan was a convert to the Catholic faith; and in becoming a Catholic he had incurred the displeasure of his parents, who, in consequence, dissolved all connections with him. Thus discarded at home, he came to this country; but before he died, he addressed a very affectionate letter to his mother, exhorting her, as his last request, to enquire seriously into the Catholic Faith. His humility was admirable. He viewed himself as the greatest of sinners, while he reposed an unbounded confidence in the tender mercies of his Saviour. He earnestly requested that nothing might be said in his praise after his death; and that it should be announced that he died a penitent, with an entire confidence in the merits of Christ. His funeral was numerously attended, and a discourse was delivered on the occasion by Rev. M. J. Spalding, who had kindly befriended and assisted him to the last."

He was buried in Lexington; and the inscription on his tombstone tells us that he died "in the odour of sanctity."

perhaps no less hurtful to the Church of Tennessee was the acceptance of an invitation from his kinsman, the former coadjutor bishop of Charleston, by the pastor in the western part of the state to go to the missions of British Guiana. December 12, 1840, Father Stokes writes to the *Advocate*: "The Rev. Mr. McAleer has been appointed pastor of Memphis, with the charge of Jackson, Bolivar, La Grange, etc., in the room of the Rev. William Clancy, who leaves our Diocese to join his cousin at Demarara, the Right Rev. Dr. Clancy."[31]

A more joyful and fruitful event, no doubt arranged by Bishop Miles himself before he left for Europe, was a mission given at the Nashville cathedral from April 25 to May 2, 1841. Fathers Francis Evremond and John Larkin, two Jesuit Fathers of Saint Mary's College, in Kentucky, conducted it. Their earnest preaching and efforts in the confessional not only effected great good for religion, but were also long remembered in the episcopal city. The happiest relations existed between Saint Mary's College and Saint Rose's Convent. Bishop Miles and Father Evremond were especi-

[31] *Advocate* of December 19, 1840. The freedom with which the priests of the United States went from one diocese to another in the earlier missionary days makes it at times practically impossible to trace them in their various fields of labor. The *Miscellany* of November 22, 1828, shows that a Father W. J. Clancy was ordained by Bishop England at Charleston on the previous Sunday; while the *Catholic Almanac* of 1833 places a Father W. J. Clancy in charge of Carbondale, Friendsville, and Silver Lake, Pennsylvania. Similarly, the *Almanacs* of 1839 and 1840 show a Father W. J. Clancy at Montgomery, Alabama, with various other charges. Father Stokes' letter of February 19, 1840, to the *Advocate* (See note 34 of preceding chapter) makes it certain that the Clancy in Alabama came to Tennessee. As it would have involved endless time and labor (possibly without result), and as he labored for only a short while in the Diocese of Nashville, we did not attempt to ascertain whether he were the Clancy who was in the Diocese of Charleston, or in that of Philadelphia.

ally close friends. In his letter of May 10, telling of the communions at the close of the mission, Father Stokes writes:

> If any feeling of regret found admittance within our breasts, it was caused by the absence of our beloved Bishop on that day from his flock, when so many of his faithful children were fulfilling the anxious desires of his paternal heart. I need not say how frequently his beloved name was repeated on Sunday, the second of May. His cup of happiness would seem full, could he then be present with his flock. The Rev. Father Evremond, in his sermon, spoke of this good and common father, and the tear of affection glistened in the eyes of many who offered up a fervent prayer for his safe and speedy return.[32]

Only Father Maguire was now left as a travelling missionary; and he was well qualified for this work. Yet, as we learn from a prefatory note of Father Stokes to a letter of the itinerant harvester of souls, which was afterwards sent to the *Advocate,* the zealous priest's exposure and labors brought on a fever which nearly resulted in his death.[33] The Maguire document is so full of interest, and so important for the early Catholic history of Tennessee, that we close this chapter with a reproduction of it almost in its entirety.

[The Rev. Joseph Stokes].

[Rev. and dear Sir]:—

I left Nashville on the 21st of May, and proceeded to Franklin, where I administered the Sacraments. From Franklin I went to Columbia, and gave the last Sacraments to one person. I visited the Catholics of Shelbyville and Winchester, crossed the Cumber-

32 *Ibid.,* May 22, 1841. Father Stokes' letter is dated May 10.

33 When sending the *Advocate* the letter which he had received from Father Maguire, Father Stokes writes: "The following communication has been received from a zealous missionary of our Diocese, the Rev. John Maguire. It would have been sent to you for publication before now, but anxiety for the life of the missionary, whose labours and exposure brought on a violent fever, excluded for a time every other thought" (*Advocate,* October 2, 1841).

land Mountains (*via* Jasper), and arrived on the first of June at Chattanooga, in East Tennessee. On the second I visited the men who are employed on the Western and Atlantic Railroad. There are one hundred Catholics on this road, with whom I have remained for the last six weeks. They were not visited by any priest for more than two years. Our beloved Bishop and the zealous Father Durbin visited them in the fall of 1838, when working on the Hiwassee Railroad. Their names are held in benediction by these poor men. They received me with joy, and immediately erected a temporary church in the midst of the forest.[34]

Many Protestants are present every Sunday to hear our doctrines explained, some of whom evince a great desire to find out the truth. Two intelligent Protestants commenced some weeks ago to study and examine for themselves, and I have the happiness to inform you that their study ended in their conviction of the divine origin of our holy religion. A respectable farmer called to see me a short time ago, and asked me to explain my creed to him. I did so. On his departure I gave him some books to read, and told him to come and see me again. He returned in two weeks. I asked him how he liked our doctrine. "As far," said he, "as I have examined, I am well pleased. I firmly believe in the Supremacy of St. Peter, in the Infallibility of the Church, and in the real presence of Jesus Christ in the Lord's Supper." I gave him some catechisms for his children. I hope ere long, I will have the pleasure of informing you that he and his eight children have been united to the true fold.[35]

The missionary then tells his vicar general that many of the laborers on the railroad, because of their hardships and spiritual privations, have become addicted to an excessive use of strong drink. Accordingly, he has started a total abstinence society among them. Twenty-five have already taken the pledge, and he believes that most of the others will soon follow the good

[34] Bishop Miles, it will be remembered, also visited these railroad men in the spring of 1839. This railroad, as also the river after which it was named, is now generally written "Hiawassee."

[35] *Advocate* of October 2, 1841.

example. The results of the move have been highly beneficial. It is quite probable, we may note here, that Bishop Miles had left instructions in this matter also. While not an extremist, he was always a warm advocate of this society, especially for those who could not otherwise control their appetites. So had he twice visited these men of toil. But to return to the letter: Father Maguire now says:

I heard that there were many Catholics in Bradley, McMinn, Meigs, and Monroe Counties. I set out to visit them on the tenth of June. In Cleveland, Bradley County, many respectable Protestants treated me very kindly, and they invited me to preach four times. There are four respectable Catholic families in this place; one of them gave me a beautiful lot for a church; all promised to contribute according to their means. I found many families in the other counties who were glad to see me. One person did not see a priest for sixty-six years, another for twenty-nine years. I preached three times in Charleston, on the Hiwassee River. I was invited to return by some respectable Protestants, in order to explain our doctrines.

I heard there was one family near the North Carolina line that had never been visited. I determined to go and see them. I arrived about dark at a neat farmhouse, and called for lodging. A venerable old man came to the door, and in a very kind and amiable manner invited me to put up for the night. After a few minutes, I told him who I was. "What!" he exclaimed, "a Catholic Priest! Oh, my God! I am a happy man. I knew that my God would not abandon me." He embraced me with swimming eyes and a throbbing heart. He has a very interesting family. He has brought them up in the Catholic religion. He takes the *Catholic Miscellany;* and, by the aid of that highly respected journal, he endeavours to keep alive the flame of Catholicity among his children.

. . . . During my mission, I performed several marriages, administered baptism to fourteen children, and admitted to holy communion nearly fifty persons. I returned to the railroad on the tenth of July, after this arduous but consoling mission. Thus I

have given you an outline, as you requested, of my labours and success for the past two months, during which I have travelled on horseback nearly one thousand miles.

Very respectfully in Christ,

John Maguire.

Chattanooga, July 11, 1841.

CHAPTER XVI

BRIGHTER OUTLOOK

Bishop Miles began his apostolic circuits again as soon as he reached home. First, he took a rapid survey of the episcopal city and the nearer missions. Then he journeyed to western Tennessee, where preparations were put under way for the erection of two churches; one of which was certainly in Memphis, the other probably in Fort Pickering, although the failure of the proprietors of that town to make it a success rendered the bishop's spiritual efforts there abortive.[1] On his return to Nashville, he gave the tonsure and four minor orders to John O'Dowde and William Howard, and the tonsure to Ivo Schacht, Saturday, November 27, 1841. On the morrow, the first Sunday of Advent, O'Dowde received subdeaconship; on Tuesday, November 30, he became a deacon, and on Sunday, December 5, 1841, he was raised to the priesthood.[2]

These were the first ordinations ever administered in the state of Tennessee. The ritual was carried out with great solemnity on all four days. Father Stokes acted

[1] Bishop Miles secured a deed to land for a church at Memphis on October 29, 1841.

[2] *Catholic Advocate* of December 25, 1841. Father Stokes' letter to that journal is dated December 9, 1841. Everywhere one sees this new priest's name given O'Dowd; but in the Nashville records he signs it O'Dowde. We follow his way of spelling it. Father Schacht's baptismal name (he afterwards became a priest) was Ivo; but he wrote the capital I so much like the capital J that in some early communications it appears as John, the Ivo evidently being taken for Jno.

as archdeacon; Fathers Hoste and Maguire were respectively deacon and subdeacon; Father Savelli was master of ceremonies. The description of the bishop's pontifical robes, the cope of the archdeacon, and the vestments of the other ministers shows that the journey abroad had been well rewarded in this regard. Many non-Catholics were drawn to the church by the novelty of the spectacle. Happiness filled the hearts of the faithful, especially of those who had formerly suffered so much from spiritual starvation.

After the ordination of Father O'Dowde as an ambassador of Christ, Bishop Miles preached on the priesthood, and told the people that he was greatly rejoiced in the hope that the little seminary would help to supply the diocese with a sufficient number of spiritual shepherds. Father Stokes speaks in high praise of the eloquence, zeal, and good nature of Father Maguire, no less than of his success as a missionary in "East Tennessee."[3] Of Bishop Miles he writes:

It is indeed gratifying to communicate that wherever he visits his presence is hailed by the scattered flock, and he receives from others many proofs of respect and consideration. To you, however, who know our Bishop so well it will not appear surprising that he should everywhere secure the esteem and regard of those with whom he has intercourse. He is indeed most deservedly popular with all classes. . . . You will, I know, rejoice to hear, Mr. Editor, that in no part of the Union can be found a more happy and united body than the good Bishop and his clergy. Indeed, the amiable manners of Bishop Miles attach all to him. He is truly a father to his clergy and people; and if in other places

[3] Father William Walsh is in error, when he states (*Facts*, August 18, 1894) that the Rev. John M. Jacquet was the first priest in Chattanooga. It seems all but certain that Bishop Miles and Father Durbin were there in the fall of 1838, when the place was known as Ross' Landing; while there can be no doubt that Father Maguire made the city the center of his activities at this time.

ie clergy enjoy advantages we do not possess, in the union and ffection that ought to subsist between a Bishop and his Priests e of the Diocese of Nashville cannot be excelled. And this, ou will admit, is no small compensation for whatever privations e are subject to.

Two days after the ordination of Father O'Dowde, ie bishop and Father Maguire set out for the southern ounties, whence they seem to have passed over the umberland Mountains into the missions in the south-istern part of the state to which that zealous mission-y was now devoting his attention.[4] On his return from is tour, Father Stokes' next letter informs us, Doctor iles prepared a course of lectures on temperance hich he preached at the cathedral in the first part of ie early lent of 1842. That he might set the people good example, he, his clergy, and his little band of minarians took the pledge in a body in the cathedral n Sunday, February 27. Immediately after the lec-ires on temperance, the bishop began another course f sermons in explanation of the Catholic faith, which e delivered Sunday after Sunday for two months or iore, and which drew such numbers that the church as taxed to its utmost capacity.[5]

In the doctrinal lectures the bishop adopted the plan f question and answer which he had formerly followed ith no little success in Ohio and Kentucky. Father tokes tells us that these discourses attracted so much ttention that many letters were received by mail, proposing to the Bishop subjects for discussion and xplanation." In the same connection the vicar general rites:

[4] *Advocate,* December 25, 1841.
[5] *Advocate,* April 30, 1842. Stokes' letter is dated April 19.

We pray that God may bless this work. Much prejudice will at least be removed by it; but God alone can bestow the divine gift of faith. In Nashville, although there is, and must be, considerable prejudice against our faith, slandered as we have been, without a single voice having been raised in our defence, for so many years gone by, it gives us pleasure to state that the most intelligent and best informed of the citizens evince towards us the kindest feelings, treat our clergy with respect, and manifest a disposition to learn at least what we *really* believe.[6]

Although Bishop Miles seems to have advocated communion at an early age, he believed that, as a rule, candidates for confirmation should be well instructed before they received that sacrament. Possibly it is for this reason that the earliest record which we find of his confirming in his own diocese is in April, 1842; and it was doubtless the first time that he administered the sacrament there, the delay being due to the difficulty of proper preparation.[7] Father Stokes' letter tells of this event in the cathedral; after which it proceeds to say:

Since the return of Dr. Miles from Europe, a church has been erected in East Tennessee through the active zeal of the Rev. John Maguire; and another in Middle Tennessee, Robertson County. Two more are in progress of being erected in the [Western?] District, or West Tennessee, under the superintendence of the pastor of Memphis, Rev. Mr. McAleer. In our own city of Nashville, on the fine and extensive lot purchased by the Bishop, we have already commenced the building of our Seminary, which will

6 *Ibid.*

7 According to the Nashville cathedral registry confirmation was administered on April 3 and 10; but the record was written sometime afterward, for it is signed by Father Alemany who, it seems certain, had not yet gone to Tennessee. Stokes' letter (*Advocate* of April 30, 1842) says it took place on April 20; but his letter is dated April 19. Besides, it says that the confirmation was given on Sunday, and April 20, 1842, was Wednesday. Possibly 20 is a typographical error for 10, and April 10, 1842, is the correct date of the first confirmation given in Nashville.

be completed, it is hoped, by the first of September next. We shall then have it in our power to accommodate more Seminarians than at present, and receive a greater number of pupils in our school.[8]

Father Stokes himself blessed and opened a church in Robertson County, under the patronage of Saint Michael, on Sunday, May 8, 1842.[9] It was a small log structure situated near Turnersville, seven miles south of Springfield, and some twenty-six north of Nashville. In regard to Saint Michael's, Father Stokes writes:

Its erection has been effected through the active zeal of a young man who may be called a convert to our holy religion. He was, like numbers in Tennessee, born of Catholic parents, but had grown up without a knowledge of his religion, and in the absence of a Catholic ministry had become indifferent, or thought equally well of all. Soon, however, after the arrival of the Bishop of Nashville, he applied for instruction, and after due time was prepared for the holy sacraments. The grace of God in him was not inactive; he soon began to impart his happiness to others; and, possessed of good natural talents, and thoroughly versed in the doctrines of the Catholic Church, he soon induced others to investigate [the] divine truth. . . . You perceive, Mr. Editor, how very humble our efforts in Tennessee are; and even in the days of primitive Christianity, when its sacred truths were first announced, there scarcely could have been more difficulties to be encountered. But God's grace alone can effect what no human efforts can accomplish; and He desires to teach man his own inefficiency, that "no flesh should glory in His sight."

[8] We have not been able to determine where this church in eastern Tennessee was located, unless it was the temporary structure spoken of in Father Maguire's letter of July 11, 1841, which was run up by the workmen on the railroad near Chattanooga—for which see note 35 of the preceding chapter. Doubtless the second church in western Tennessee was the ill-fated one at Fort Pickering. The other was certainly at Memphis.

[9] The *Advocate* of June 4, 1842, says that this event took place on May 6; but this must be a typographical error for May 8, for the Sundays of May, 1842, were 1, 8, 15, 22, and 29.

The Rev. John Maguire, now pastor of the Cathedral, has lately returned from Jonesboro', where he visited two edifying converts, a young lady and her brother, who were received into the Church more than two years ago by the Bishop, who, when he had no priest to assist him, undertook this long and painful journey over the mountains for the purpose. Father Maguire gave us the most edifying account of the firmness with which they adhere to all the duties of religion, and their scrupulous observance of all the Church prescribes. . . . The Rev. John O'Dowd has recently visited several counties in which no Catholic Missionary had ever been seen before. He met scattered members of the flock almost everywhere.[10]

Until this juncture, or thereabout, Father Stokes had held the three positions of vicar general, pastor of the cathedral, and rector of the little seminary and college. Now Father Maguire becomes the cathedral's rector, whilst he in turn is succeeded by Father O'Dowde as missionary in southern and eastern Tennessee. As a whole, despite the hardships and privations that came from poverty, the small number of priests, and the scattered situation of the few Catholics, the outlook for the diocese loomed brighter than ever before.

None of the missionaries manifested greater zeal than the bishop himself. None toiled harder, or took longer or more trying journeys, whether on horseback or by other early ways of travel, for the salvation of souls. With him it was a principle to set the example which he wished others to follow. His command was: "Come," rather than "Go;" and it was given in action, rather than by word. In holiness of life all regarded him as a model.

[10] *Advocate,* June 4, 1842. The two converts at Jonesborough, it will be recalled, were Robert and Mary F. Aiken. Father Stokes' letter is dated May 25, 1842.

The reader can not have forgotten that one of the first things which Doctor Miles did, after the arrival of Father Stokes. was to start a Catholic school for boys in Nashville. Although we have discovered no documents to that effect, there can be no doubt that he also sought to obtain nuns for a similar school for girls in the episcopal city; or that he preferred to have in this capacity the Dominican Sisters whom he had helped to establish, and upon whom he perhaps looked as the crowning glory of his priestly ministry. Doubtless also the only obstacle which stood in the way of securing the services of these daughters of Saint Dominic, either from Ohio or from Kentucky, was their lack of numbers at the time. On his return from Europe, therefore, the bishop directed his thoughts towards the Sisters of Charity, at Nazareth, near Bardstown, Kentucky, where his appeal met with a charitable response. Touching on this topic in his letter to the *Catholic Advocate,* September 15, 1842, Father Stokes writes:

The Sisters of Charity arrived in our city on Thursday, the 25th of last month. They were accompanied by their superior, Mr. [Joseph] Hazeltine, and the Rev. J[ames] M. Lancaster, President of St. Joseph's College, Bardstown. On the Sunday following, 28th August, a solemn high mass of thanksgiving, at which the Bishop assisted, was celebrated by the Vicar General, attended by the Rev. Messrs. [Louis] Hoste and [Joseph Sadoc] Alemany as deacon and subdeacon. After Mass, the Rev. Mr. Lancaster ascended the pulpit, and delivered a most interesting and instructive discourse on the means of ascertaining the true religion. He treated the subject in a most lucid and argumentative manner, and claimed the attention of his numerous audience for more than an hour. The Protestants, who were present in great numbers, appeared to be deeply interested.

The day after, the 29th, the Rev. Mr. Lancaster took his departure for Bardstown, to be present at the commencement of his college exercises; but the Rev. Mr. Hazeltine remained until a residence was provided for the Sisters, who in the meantime were most kindly and affectionately entertained by a respectable lady of our city, a former pupil of Nazareth [Mrs. T. J. Stevenson]. The Sisters now occupy a large and commodious building, the late residence of Captain John Williams, on the brow of Campbell's Hill, a most eligible site. They have already commenced their school, and with prospects of extensive usefulness. We thank God sincerely for His mercies to us, and we hope to prove ourselves by our gratitude worthy of future blessings.[11]

Father Stokes' letters, we feel sure, present a fair picture of the disposition manifested by the more liberal-minded non-Catholics towards the Church and the progress that it was making in Tennessee. Tradition, no less than this correspondence with the *Advocate,* assures us that Bishop Miles' straightforward character and gentlemanly ways exerted a strong influence in the creation of these kindly feelings. However, possibly because of his own fraternal and optimistic spirit, Father Stokes appears to have overlooked the deep-seated prejudices of the masses. Perhaps he had come into contact with few other than the well-disposed, and forgot that no bias is more stubborn, more bitter, or harder to dispel, than religious bias—especially that begotten of the anti-Catholic propaganda which has been ceaselessly carried on throughout the English-speaking world. It is so today; it was infinitely worse three quarters of a century ago.

[11] *Advocate,* September 24, 1842; Sister Mary Vincent, Nazareth, December 15, 1896, to Rev. William Walsh (Nashville Archives). See also *History of the Sisters of Charity of Leavenworth, Kansas,* pp. 19 ff., and McGill, *The Sisters of Charity of Nazareth, Kentucky,* pp. 114 ff.; but the *Advocate* shows these two authors to be in error when they say that the sisters went to Nashville in 1841.

Thus the introduction of the Sisters of Charity into Nashville, although a step no less calculated to advance the cause of education than that of religion, aroused the ingrained prepossessions of many almost to a frenzy. A Methodist paper of that city was "absolutely furious in the expression of its malignity." The *Catholic Telegraph* of Cincinnati took up the unscrupulous sheet, and showed it no mercy in a lengthy excoriation of its bigotry and slander.[12] Bishop Miles, however, for there is no evidence or tradition to the contrary, seems to have followed his accustomed course of patient forbearance, without compromise, which rarely failed to win favor for the Church as well as for himself. Doubtless he delivered some doctrinal lectures or sermons at the cathedral in reply, but referred to the diatribe only by innuendo. This was his usual way of defense. Again it must have brought good results, for the school was soon liberally patronized by non-Catholics.

Their small numbers and multiplicity of labors had made it impossible for the Friars Preacher to carry out their desire of aiding the beloved bishop of Nashville. But it would seem that, on the arrival of Fathers Francis Cubero and Joseph S. Alemany, two Spanish brethren, it was decided to give him their services, as they both wished the sort of missionary work that was required in Tennessee. The *Telegraph* of April 25, 1840, states that they had lately arrived from Rome, and that they were destined for the Diocese of Nashville. It was no doubt in view of this fact that the report which Bishop Miles sent to the *Catholic Almanac* of 1842, after placing Father Stokes at Nashville, and

12 *Telegraph*, September 17, 1842; and *Pilot*, April 12, 1845.

Father McAleer at Memphis, with the charge of Jackson, Bolivar, and La Grange, says:

Franklin, Columbia, Shelbyville, Fayetteville, and Winchester—attended by Rev. Joseph Sadoc Alemany, O.P. Several counties in East Tennessee are attended by Rev. John Maguire and Rev. Francis Cubero, O.P. Missionaries for West Tennessee—Rev. Nicholas Savelli and Rev. Louis Hoste.[13]

However, necessity demanded that Alemany and Cubero should be kept in Ohio. Meanwhile, in August, 1841, the Very Rev. Eugene H. Pozzo, O.P., S.T.M., arrived, and was stationed at Saint Joseph's, in that state. On the other hand, Father Savelli, who came with him, and whose name has already been mentioned, had grown tired of the Tennessee missions. Possibly, meeting few who could talk Italian, and knowing little English, he found life there too lonesome. At any rate, he left the Diocese of Nashville for that of Saint Louis about the period of Bishop Miles' life at which we have now arrived.[14] Probably it was in part to fill this loss that Father Alemany was now sent to Nashville. His last baptismal record at Zanesville, Ohio, is dated June 29, 1842; and his earliest at Nashville was performed on October 9 of the same year. He was the first Dominican stationed in Tennessee.[15]

[13] Page 147.

[14] The *Catholic Almanac* for 1843 shows him as assistant to Father Francis Cellini at Saint Michael's, Fredericktown, Missouri. The next year he was pastor in the same place, and remained there until 1846, when he went to New Orleans. Here he was appointed pastor of the parish of Plaquemine, where he labored efficiently for eleven years. He was foully murdered on October 3, 1857, by members of an Italian secret society. See *Catholic Telegraph*, November 7, 1857.

[15] The baptismal records of Nashville at this time are so few and far apart that they enable us to determine the date of a new priest's coming only approximately. The *Catholic Herald* of Philadelphia, August 12, 1841, says: "Two Italian missionaries, Rev. Mr. Tavelli [Savelli], for the diocess of Nashville, and Rev. Father Pozzo, of the Order of Preachers, for the

The next letter on the diocese is from Robertson County, and is dated November 15, 1842. The signature of "S.", together with the unmistakable style and spirit of Father Stokes, leaves no doubt as to its authorship. Here we find a detailed account of the confirmation of a small class at Saint Michael's two days before. Curiosity to see and hear a Catholic bishop brought a large crowd to the church. Before the ceremony, our prelate preached on confirmation and the mass; afterwards he delivered a sermon on faith. Perhaps it was his masterful use of the Scriptures, no less than his splendid voice, that made those of his audience who could not gain entrance into the little log church wait around the edifice, in spite of the inclement weather, for he could be heard almost as distinctly without as within.[16]

Tennessee was now to experience a far greater loss than that which it had suffered through the departure of Father Savelli. At first, Father Stokes offered his services to the Diocese of Nashville for only one year. Possibly he remained until this time because of his love and admiration for Bishop Miles, and his pity for the people in their state of spiritual destitution. Even before going to Tennessee, he appears to have thought of entering the Society of Jesus.[17] The *Catholic Advocate* of October 8, 1842, announces: "We understand that the Very Rev. Joseph Stokes, Vicar General of Nashville, has resigned his office, and proceeded to the College of the Jesuits, in Marion County, Kentucky,

diocess of Cincinnati, have just arrived from Leghorn in our Port. Rev. Mr. Tavelli [Savelli] left Rome in the middle of May."

16 *Advocate,* December 2, 1842.

17 Father Stokes to Bishop Purcell, Septemebr 15, 1839 (Cincinnati Archives).

with a view to unite himself to that distinguished order."

While this statement, for the reason given above, seems to have been erroneous in that it states that Father Stokes had already left the diocese, it was evidently true as regards his intention. The *Catholic Almanac* for 1843, doubtless because the report of the diocese had been sent before his resignation, still gives him as vicar general of Nashville; but that for 1844 places him at Saint Mary's College, with "S. J." after his name.[18] In the departure of Father Stokes, which no one could have regretted more than Bishop Miles himself, the young Diocese of Nashville lost not only a good priest, a zealous missionary, and a clergyman whose cheerful disposition must have been a source of joy in the hard lives of his co-laborers, but also a splendid publicity man. Because of his letters to the *Advocate* on the early Church there, he deserves the title of the first Catholic historian of Tennessee.[19]

[18] *Almanac,* 1843, p. 105; *Almanac,* 1844, p. 150.

[19] Father Stokes was born in Ireland, studied at Carlow, and was ordained there for the Diocese of Charleston, December 21, 1822. Then he spent a year in the Archdiocese of Dublin, probably at Maynooth preparing to teach in Bishop England's seminary and college. But the *U. S. Catholic Miscellany* of June 15, 1825, says: "Columbia [South Carolina]: The Rev. Joseph Stokes has been appointed to take charge of this and the neighboring congregations until some further arrangements can be made, and he has arrived to take charge of his flock." This is the first mention of him that we have found. He remained at Columbia until about 1829, when he was transferred to Savannah, Georgia, of which he was pastor until 1835. All these ten years he was one of the most active missionaries of the Charleston Diocese. From Savannah he went to Portsmouth, Virginia; but after about a year there he became rector of the seminary at Cincinnati, whence he went to Nashville. In all these places he was regarded as a fine scholar and eloquent preacher.

Soon finding that his vocation was not to a religious life, he left Saint Mary's College, in Kentucky, and then labored for a while (1844-1845) at Saint Joseph's Church, New York City. From 1845 to 1851 he was at Saint John's, Utica, New York. In 1851 he became pastor at New

A further glimpse of the zeal of the Father of the Church in Tennessee for the beauty of God's temple and divine worship, as well as of the way in which he had been aided in this regard by the generosity of Catholics abroad, is afforded by a letter of a transient who styles himself "Philadelphian" to the *Catholic Advocate* from Nashville, December 31, 1842. First, he tells how, in spite of the beauty of the place and its favored location, his heart had been rent on a former business visit, some years before, at the sight of its dilapidated church, no less than at the thought that among such a splendid people "God's best gift to man, His *one* and *true religion,* was scarcely known." Then he proceeds to say:

I return, and with joy beheld on last Christmas morning its sanctuary dignified by a Bishop, ... surrounded by a youthful and efficient clergy, and its church thronged by many of the most intelligent and reflecting men of Nashville. All was calculated to excite in my mind the most pleasurable feelings—contrasting the appearances and circumstances that then surrounded me with those, as I knew them, of other days. . . . But my attention was soon directed to the preparations that were being made for the celebration of the holy sacrifice of the Mass by the Bishop, who with two attendant priests, robed in vestments surpassing anything of the kind I ever saw in richness of material and chasteness of design, performed the solemn sacrifice with an air of most unfeigned piety and heartfelt devotion.

He appeared in pretty good health. He is naturally majestic, his bearing bespeaking the dignity of his character. He still seems to have some of the vigor of manhood blending with the approaching majesty of age; and gives hope that he may still survive many

London, Connecticut; in 1852, the bishop of Hartford, who then lived in Providence, Rhode Island, took him to that city, and made him his vicar general. He died on July 16, 1854, at Saratoga, where he seems to have gone for his health. He was a splendid priest, but seems to have had somewhat of a roving disposition, perhaps brought about by his long missionary life.

years, cheering his little flock by his serene hilarity, strengthening his clergy by his evangelical example, and decorating his humble Cathedral by his venerable appearance. Every one with whom I conversed about him, Catholic or Protestant, united in the one general sentiment of praise. All spoke highly of him. I cannot describe to you the thrill of delight which almost paralyzed my senses, when he entoned the "Gloria in Excelsis." His voice is correct, soft, mellifluous, vast in compass, and charming in effect. He was well responded to by the gush of a rich tide of harmony, bursting forth with almost magic effect from a full choir.[20]

After the mass, the Rev. John Maguire, a young man whom all regard as possessed of "surpassing talents," preached an eloquent and learned sermon suited to the occasion. At vespers in the evening, the church was again packed to its utmost capacity alike by Catholics and non-Catholics. Again Father Maguire preached, but this time his sermon was the continuation of a series of lectures which he is giving on the "Rule of Faith." The discourse was splendidly adapted for a mixed audience. On neither occasion was the music "surpassed by any church in Philadelphia." Another great surprise was the presence of the Sisters of Charity, who are located in one of the most beautiful and retired situations in the city.[21]

Despite his physical appearance, Bishop Miles' strength was taxed almost to the snapping point by labors which were not only excessively hard, but also without end or intermission. For fear lest his beloved diocese should be left, even for a short time, without the guidance of a supreme pastor caused him to think seriously of a coadjutor. To Archbishop Eccleston, who had notified him of the fifth provincial council to be held in Baltimore the next May, he wrote on February 11, 1843:

[20] *Advocate*, January 7, 1843. [21] *Ibid.*

Your kind favour of the 30th January, announcing the time for the council, has just come to hand. Your first never reached me. I do not know that I have anything to propose to the Council worthy of its attention; but I think there is an abuse in the publication of prayer-books that calls for some attention. There appears to be too great a variety; and some of them contain expressions that are calculated to scandalize Protestants. In some of the prayers addressed to the Blessed Virgin she is styled *Divine;* in others "our only hope." In a Protestant country such expressions, I think, are calculated to do much injury to religion. I wish to propose to the Council, if I do not obtain it before, the appointment of a Coadjutor for the Diocese of Nashville, as my health is declining. I feel myself unable to attend to the arduous duties incumbent on me.

I had not forgotten the request of the poor negro belonging to the Carmelites; but my endeavours to find his wife and children have, so far, been unsuccessful. I have found a coloured man in Nashville who is acquainted with the affair, and who has promised me to inquire into it. Be kind enough to assure the poor fellow that I will do all in my power to serve him.[22]

Tradition, supported by every sign, tells us that the bishop's choice for a coadjutor was the Rev. Martin J. Spalding. Doubtless it was in part to prepare Nashville for such an event that the distinguished divine was brought to the city for a course of lectures in March, 1843. The report of these discourses to the *Advocate* may easily be read in such a light, no less than in that of appeasing the ecclesiastical authorities of Kentucky for the loss of so useful a clergyman.

"Idem," as the correspondent signs himself, speaks at length of the effect which Doctor Spalding produced on his crowded audiences, irrespective of creed; of his magnificent panegyric of Saint Patrick, Sunday, March 26; of how he was admired by all classes in the episcopal city; and of the good which he had

[22] Baltimore Archives, Case 25, M 7.

accomplished in the way of further dispelling religious prejudices. The article begins with an expression of gratitude to Kentucky for the many blessings which Tennessee has received from that state through the missionaries sent to keep alive the spark of Catholic faith in the hearts of the people, but especially for the gift of the diocese's beloved pastor. In this latter connection, it says:

> Tennessee is indebted, even more than this, to Kentucky in sending her a bishop, a spiritual father to her children in the faith—one whose noble heart yearns for their welfare; one whose life, and health, and faculties are incessantly and unsparingly devoted to their eternal and temporal well-being.[23]

Father John Maguire, who is said to have wielded a facile pen, was probably the author of this communication. In the light of tradition, the letter of Bishop Miles about the council at Baltimore, the friendship that existed between him and the former president of Saint Joseph's College, and the popularity enjoyed by Doctor Spalding at Nashville, the import of the document would seem to be: Since Kentucky has done so much for Tennessee, let these good deeds now be crowned by giving the venerable head of our diocese the man whom he wishes to have as his coadjutor.

Bishop Miles kept a watchful eye over even the most isolated of his scattered flock, and sought to keep alive their faith by letters of encouragement as well as by sending them a priest whenever he could. His big heart and broad zeal went out to all. A letter to Robert and Mary F. Aiken in far-off Washington County will serve as an example of how he forgot no one. Although occupied with preparations for his journey to the council, no less than with the affairs to which he had to

[23] *Advocate,* April 8, 1843.

attend before leaving home, on the eve of his departure, he wrote:

Nashville, April 30, 1843.

My dear Children:—

The approach of the anniversary of your baptism and first communion reminds me of a duty which I have delayed too long. Knowing that some of my clergymen corresponded with you, and being overpowered with business since my return home, I have left that pleasing duty principally to them. I am just on the eve of setting out for Baltimore to be present at the Provincial Council, which commences on the fourteenth of May; and in order that you may have an opportunity to approach the holy sacraments I have directed Rev. Mr. O'Dowd to visit you for that purpose. He will set out for East Tennessee in two days, and will be with you about the middle of the month. He has to call at Athens and some other places where there are Catholics, in order to afford them the same opportunity.

I am delighted to hear that you remain firm in the faith and in the practice of good works; and I trust in the goodness and mercy of God that you will persevere to the end. Heaven cannot fail to bless such fidelity; and although you seem almost left without a protecting arm to defend you, yet He who looks down with an eye of complacency from His seat of glory will never suffer you to be deserted so long as you are faithful to your engagements. Take courage then, my dear children. A great reward awaits you; for after the few years of toil and trouble amidst trials and temptations shall have passed away, that beneficent Father, for whose love you have sustained the combat, will reward your labours with a crown of immortal glory.

This life with all its troubles must soon pass away. How cheering then is the prospect which futurity presents! The eye hath not seen nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man what God hath prepared for them that love Him (I Cor., II, 9). Let us then continually aspire to the possession of those things that are promised us. Let us sigh continually for that happy country, where we shall be eternally inebriated, as the Psalmist expresses it, with the plenty of God's house, and be made to drink of the torrent of His pleasure; for there with Him is the fountain

of life (Psalm XXXI)—the great river of the water of life, clear as crystal, which proceeds from the throne of God and of the Lamb.

I am obliged from want of time to close my letter. Please remember me kindly to your excellent parents, and pray for your affectionate father in God.

I am, my dear children,
Sincerely yours in Christ,
† Richard Pius Miles, Bishop of Nashville.[24]

No better proof that the saintly prelate was pressed for time is needed than that he did not visit his beloved alma mater of Saint Rose on his way east to the fifth provincial council; for there he found such rest of soul in the calm of the place, the memories of former days, and the attachment of his early friends that he would not have passed it by, had he found it possible to visit the convent. The *Catholic Telegraph* of May 6, 1843, shows that he had already passed through Cincinnati. Father Pozzo of Saint Joseph's was his theologian at the council; but we did not discover whether he took the longer route by way of Somerset, Ohio, in order to travel with his official adviser, or proceeded directly from Cincinnati to Baltimore, and engaged the services of that learned Friar Preacher by letter.[25]

The council convened on May 14, and lasted for one week. Salutary laws and regulations were enacted for the government of our American Church; the Holy Father was asked for the erection of new episcopal sees at Pittsburgh, Chicago, Milwaukee, Hartford, and Little Rock, together with the establishment of a vicariate apostolic in Oregon; Father Ignatius Reynolds

[24] *Letter Addressed* "Mr. Robert P. Aiken, near Jonesborough, Washington County, Tennessee" (Archives of Saint Joseph's Province).

[25] *United States Catholic Magazine*, II, 377.

was proposed as successor of Doctor England at Charleston, Father John McCloskey (afterwards our first cardinal) for coadjutor of New York, and Father John B. Fitzpatrick for the same position in Boston.[26] What action was taken in regard to a coadjutor to Bishop Miles, or whether he actually requested that the council should solicit the appointment of one for him, we could not ascertain.

Possibly the fathers of the council, misled by the deceptive outward appearance of the holy man's health, and convinced that the maintenance of two prelates would be an excessive tax on Tennessee's few Catholics, persuaded him to bear the burden of his labors alone for a while longer. Perhaps also they overlooked the fact that Father Spalding was well able to support himself, which was not unlikely one of the reasons why Doctor Miles specially desired him for the place of coadjutor.

However, there can be little doubt that the expressions of good-will which he received from his brethren in the hierarchy cheered the hard-working man to renewed efforts, at the same time that he found a source of courage and consolation in the ever-increasing number of our bishops and in the proofs that he thus saw of the Church's growth throughout the country. A further happiness was the presence of a former confrère whom he had not seen for some years, and whom Doctor Loras of Dubuque brought to the council as his theologian—Father Samuel C. Mazzuchelli. From Baltimore the subject of our narrative, probably on the invitation of Bishop Kenrick (whose estrangement was now a thing of the past), went to Philadelphia

26 *Concilia Provincialia Baltimori*, pp. 207 ff; *United States Catholic Magazine*, II, 376-378; SHEA, *History of the Church*, III, 459-461.

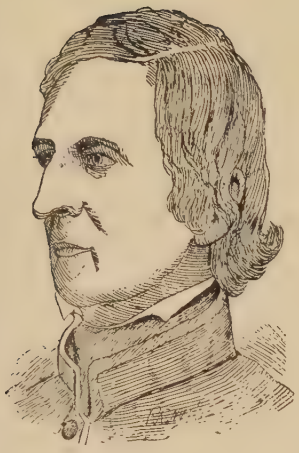
in search of means to help him out with the needs of his poor diocese. While there he also preached in Saint Joseph's Church in behalf of the orphans of that city.[27]

Immediately that his business in the north was completed the apostolic man hurried back to his own dear Tennessee, where he took up again the endless round of labors. By the fall of 1843 Father McAleer had succeeded in erecting a substantial brick church in Memphis, to which he gave the name of Saint Peter. Accordingly, Bishop Miles now made another visit through the western part of the state. At Memphis he administered the sacrament of confirmation in the new church; while at Jackson, in default of a temple of Catholic worship there, he performed the same ceremony in the house of one of the faithful. Everywhere he gladdened hearts as much by the sunshine of his disposition as by the warmth of his zeal and the piety of his sermons.[28]

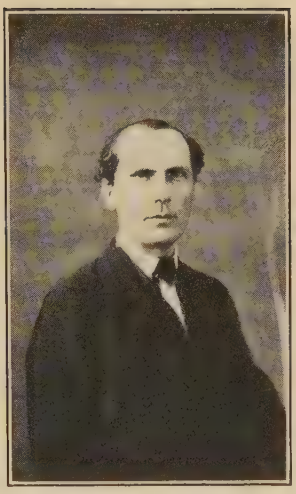
Hardly had he returned to Nashville when he ordained two young men from his little seminary. They were William Howard who was born in Ireland, and Ivo Schacht, a native of Belgium. They received subdeaconship on the first Sunday of advent, December 3, 1843; on the twenty-third of the same month they were given the order of deacon; and on the next day, Sunday, December 24, they were raised to the priesthood during a solemn pontifical mass. Father Hoste, now the vicar general, assisted as deacon, and Father Alemany as subdeacon. Unless he was out on the missions, Father Maguire must have been the master

[27] *Herald,* May 5, and June 1, 1843. The tradition of Nashville is that Bishop Miles obtained more financial aid from Philadelphia than from any other place in the United States.

[28] *Advocate,* January 6, 1844.



REV. MICHAEL McALEER



REV. JAMES H. CLARKSON, O. P.

SAINT PETER'S CHURCH

MEMPHIS' FIRST CHURCH, THE PRIEST WHO BUILT IT, AND THE FIRST WHO DIED THERE

of ceremonies, for he was the rector of the cathedral. After the mass, the bishop made a soulful and touching address to the newly ordained, with which, for the sake of those who thronged the little cathedral, were interwoven explanations of the sublime ceremonies performed on the two young men.[29]

Bishop Miles loved the ritual of the Church. A southerner himself by both birth and rearing, he understood the people of that section of the country, and knew well their love of the sublime and beautiful. For these reasons, although he could command no more than a handful of clergymen, he shrank from no inconvenience or even hardship in order to sing a solemn pontifical mass in the cathedral at least on the major feasts of the year. He saw too how non-Catholics were ever present in numbers on these occasions, felt that they offered an opportunity for making the life and teachings of the Church better known, and hoped that they might result in conversions. Thus on the morrow of the ordination just mentioned, which was Christmas Day, he treated Nashville to another of those exquisite celebrations which can be found only in the Catholic Church. In a letter dated at Nashville, December 28, 1843, "Amicus" writes:

At ten o'clock the church was crowded to excess, principally by Protestants, to witness solemn high mass to be sung by the Bishop. The church was tastefully decorated by the pious Sisters of Charity, and presented a beautiful appearance. At half-past ten o'clock the choir, under the direction of Mr. King of Philadelphia, assisted by several other gentlemen of the city who kindly offered their services, performed in a manner highly creditable. Mr. Joseph McEvoy, one of the seminarians, presided at the organ; and when the *Venite Adoremus* was intoned in heavenly strains,

29 *Ibid.*

there dropped many a tear from the pious flock in humble adoration before their God.

The Bishop, being robed in his rich pontificals, accompanied by Very Rev. Lewis Hoste, V.G., as deacon, and Rev. Joseph Alemany, O.P., as subdeacon, intoned high mass in a thrilling and sweet tone, so peculiar to him, and so well known to all who ever had the happiness to hear him sing high mass. The Rev. Mr. Schacht acted as master of ceremonies, and conducted all with the skill of one well acquainted with such ceremonies. After mass, Rev. John Maguire, the pastor of this congregation, who by his active zeal has done so much for religion, ascended the pulpit and delivered an eloquent and impressive discourse.

The whole was to the Catholics of Nashville a day of joy and consolation. And we cannot be sufficiently grateful to God for sending to us a father who has placed all his solicitude in our welfare, and who, notwithstanding the many difficulties he has to contend with in his poor diocese, endeavours to educate, under his own immediate direction, a priesthood which, I hope, are ready to sacrifice every human consideration, and, like generous souls, to devote themselves to this emphatically arduous mission.[30]

Such was the state of the Diocese of Nashville at the close of the first period of its founder's labor after his journey to Europe in its behalf. Under the circumstances, and with the same limited means, no man could have accomplished more, or reasonably expected greater progress. While his zeal doubtless sighed for a more rapid growth of Catholicity in every way, Bishop Miles might well have congratulated himself on what he had done for religion in Tennessee. Possibly, all in all, he was satisfied, for we have found no expression of regret, or of fear lest something had been left untried, even though he was not one who would hesitate to criticize himself.

[30] *Ibid.*

CHAPTER XVII

LOSSES AND GAINS

Bishop Miles' zeal caused him to rejoice in the reports which he received of the advance of Catholicity in other parts of the country, even though its progress in his own diocese was slow and uphill. It delighted him to hear of the appointment of new bishops. However busy he might be, if at all possible, he sought to give them the pleasure of his presence at their consecration. Thus, in spite of the fact that he was overwhelmed with care at this time, he journeyed to Cincinnati in order to act as assistant at the consecration of the Right Revs. Ignatius Reynolds for Charleston and John M. Henni for Milwaukee. The ceremony was performed, March 19, 1844, by Bishop Purcell in the cathedral built by the apostle of Ohio. Doctor Michael O'Connor of Pittsburgh was the other assistant.[1]

Meanwhile, apparently near the close of the previous year (1843), Father O'Dowde, who had charge of the missions formerly attended by Father Maguire south of Nashville and in eastern Tennessee, had grown weary of his lonesome life there, and gone to the Diocese of New York. There he was given charge of Brownsville, Carthage, Copenhagen, and Watertown, in the present Diocese of Ogdensburg. As his name disappears from

[1] *Advocate*, March 23 and 30, 1844.

the *Catholic Almanac* after 1846, he probably returned to Ireland about that time.[2] His place in Tennessee was taken by the Rev. William Fennelly, who seems to have come from the cathedral of Boston. It is possible, however, that Father Fennelly offered his services to Bishop Miles merely until Fathers Howard and Schacht could be ordained and placed; for we find him at Maysville, Kentucky, in 1845, where he built Saint Patrick's Church.[3]

Father Stokes has told us of the model community life led by the diocesan clergy at Nashville, where the Bishop's kindly character made every one happy, in spite of the privations imposed by poverty. The priests were principally supported by means sent to the diocese from abroad. Economy of the strictest kind was a necessity. Doubtless it was this that caused all the clergy, with the exception of Father McAleer in Memphis, to make their home with their beloved prelate, though the greater number of them were practically

[2] *Catholic Almanac,* 1845, pp. 86-89; 1846, pp. 107-110. Father O'Dowde was educated partly at Mount Saint Mary's, Emmitsburg, and partly in Nashville. Possibly he had made some of his studies before coming to America. Not a few early missionaries, finding life in the then undeveloped United States harder than they anticipated, returned to their native lands after a few years of poorly requited toil.

[3] *Almanac,* 1845, p. 131. There was a "Rev. Mr. Fennelly" at Boston for several years. The *Almanac* for 1844 (p. 143) gives his first name as "Lewis"; but the records at Nashville and subsequent *Almanacs* show that this was an error. In 1846, he took charge of various missions in Breckinridge and Daviess counties, Kentucky. In 1850, he went to the Diocese of Albany, New York, where he labored on various missions until his death. He was killed by a train, February 6, 1886. He was then pastor of Saint Patrick's Church, Oneida, and eighty-six years of age. In the olden days of setting type by hand, when an error got into the *Almanac* it often remained a long time. Until the last years of his life, Father Fennelly's name was very often written Finnelly. At Oneida he baptized Father Francis D. McShane, one of the censors of this book.

always on the road. They were hunters of souls who could spare little time for domestic comforts.

This arrangement continued for some years, apparently until after the ordination of Fathers Schacht and Howard. Their advancement to the priesthood no doubt combined with the expected arrival of Father Samuel L. Montgomery, one of the bishop's early companions in labor, to determine the Father of the Church in Tennessee, in spite of his slender financial resources, to attempt a more convenient and efficient disposition of his clerical forces. Father Montgomery, the second Friar Preacher stationed at Nashville, seems to have arrived about the end of April, 1844. Though somewhat advanced in age, he still retained much of his former strength and vigor. He too lived in the bishop's house, whence he attended adjacent missions, as well as made himself useful generally.[4]

Prior to the acquisition of this new helper, Father Schacht had taken residence at Clarksville, where he immediately began the erection of a brick church, the corner-stone for which he laid on June 11, 1844. Eight counties constituted his parish. In Humphreys County, where the bishop had secured a large area of land and was endeavoring to establish a Catholic colony, Father Schacht also soon had a church under way near Waverly. Preparations were started for a third on a lot donated for the purpose by Francis Rogan, seven miles from Gallatin. The last two fanes were log structures, it is true, but they were neat and well-built, and in their day considered quite good

[4] Father Montgomery's arrival at Nashville may be approximated from his last baptismal record at Saint Rose's, in Kentucky, April 16, 1844.

enough. Saint Michael's, Robertson County, was also in Father Schacht's district.[5]

Shortly after his return from the episcopal consecrations in Cincinnati, Bishop Miles made another journey through eastern Tennessee. On May 12, 1844, he confirmed Robert and Mary F. Aiken at Jonesborough. Possibly he took Father Howard with him, and it was at this time that the young priest was stationed at Montgomery, then the capital of Morgan County, thus becoming the first resident pastor of east Tennessee. "He carries with him to the mountains," says a correspondent of the *Advocate,* "ardent zeal, and unaffected piety," indispensable requisites for perseverance in his lonely situation.[6]

When Nashville was definitely chosen as the capital of Tennessee (1843), it at once became certain that Campbell's Hill would be selected for the location of the state-house. In like manner, probabilities had begun to loom strong that railroads and other works of public utility would eventually encroach on the neighborhood in which stood the episcopal residence. Accordingly, on the advice of friends, perhaps no less than pursuant to his own judgment, Bishop Miles now cast about for property in another location, whereon to erect his proposed new cathedral. A plot of ground, one hundred and twenty-two feet in length by seventy in width, on the corner of Cedar and Summer streets was secured from Vernon Stephenson at a cost of four

[5] *Advocate,* June 22, 1844. The letter to its editor was written at Clarksville, June 14, 1844.

[6] *Advocate,* June 22, 1844; *Catholic Almanac,* 1845, p. 128; cathedral records of Nashville. Montgomery, a mere hamlet, is about two miles from the present Wartburg. This letter to the *Advocate* was written at Nashville, June 8, 1844.

thousand four hundred and forty dollars. The land ran along the southern side of Cedar and faced west on Summer, which is now Fifth Avenue. Preparations were begun at once for a sacred edifice there.[7]

The corner-stone of the structure was laid on the Feast of Corpus Christi, June 6, 1844. Curiosity, favored by a beautiful day, brought an immense crowd to see a spectacle which was the first of its kind in Nashville. Major Daniel Graham, a Presbyterian and former state comptroller, whose home stood on the northeast corner of Summer and Cedar streets (just across from the proposed church), not only gave the use of his mansion to the bishop and clergy for the occasion, but also permitted a platform to be erected in front of it. Father Maguire held his large audience spellbound during a long, learned, and eloquent sermon, an outline of which is given in the *Advocate*.[8]

After the sermon, Bishop Miles, his priests, and the little band of seminarians proceeded with the ceremony of blessing and laying the corner-stone. Tall, straight, graceful, and handsome even in advancing years, the venerable prelate, always majestic in appearance, must have been especially so when clothed in the rich pontifical robes which he had received from abroad. He towered above all around him. The *Advocate's* correspondent tells us as much. But what appears to have attracted his attention in a special manner was the good order preserved on the occasion, the great regard in which the bishop was held by all classes, and the fact that the non-Catholics of the city contributed far more

7 Deed Book VI, 675-676 (Recorder's Office, Nashville); Nashville *Sunday Herald*, January 12, 1890. The deed is dated March 30, 1844.

8 Letter of June 8, 1844, to the editor of the *Advocate* as in note 6.

towards the enterprise than did those who professed the faith. All this he attributes to the "zeal, piety, and gentlemanly courtesy of Doctor Miles," whose example is faithfully followed by his clergy.[9] Writing to a friend at the time, the bishop himself says:

We laid the corner-stone of our Cathedral on Corpus Christi, which ceremony was witnessed by a large crowd of our citizens who conducted themselves on that occasion with as much propriety as could have been expected even in Baltimore. Father Maguire gave a fine discourse which has been much spoken of since. After the discourse, we went in procession from Major Graham's to the cross erected in the foundations. This is the first time that the Mitre and Crozier have been seen in the streets of Nashville, and [they] must have produced strange feelings in many who had not seen them before. There was, notwithstanding, great quiet throughout [the ceremony].

One of the occurrences of that day which, I think, is worthy of particular notice is that Major Graham, who is a Presbyterian, should have treated us with such liberality. Tell me, can Baltimore boast anything like it? Our foundation is gradually rising; and in a few years we hope to have a temple for worship in some degree worthy of the Great Being for whom we intend it. You, who have seen and felt our privation in this respect, can give your Baltimore friends some idea of it. I say some idea, for it is impossible for those who never experienced anything of the kind to form an adequate idea of it.[10]

These advances were not slow to raise a storm of indignation in some minds. Sectarian journals as well as pulpits sounded alarms against the progress of Catholicity. Bishop Miles and Father Maguire took

[9] See preceding note. The writer of the communication signs himself "Viator", and was probably a visiting clergyman. He states that in the papers placed in the corner-stone Father Alemany is given as the vicar general; but this is a mistake, for Father Hoste held that position.

[10] Miles, Nashville, June 13, 1844, to Mrs. Emilie Sanders, Baltimore (Francis X. Reuss Collection, Archives of American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia). Mrs. Charles Sanders, an exemplary Catholic, was a native of Baltimore, and was visiting her people at the time.

these attacks as a matter of course. But Father Schacht, younger and more impulsive, came back at the chief instigators with replies that must have made them wince. His answers were strong, logical, and well-written.[11]

Prior to going to Tennessee, Father Alemany had been sent to Cuba in search of means to help not only his brethren, but also Bishop Miles. After the departure of Father Stokes, the Spanish Friar Preacher succeeded him as rector of the little seminary at Nashville. No stricter or more conscientious man could have been selected for the place. How careful he was in regard to those who applied for admission may be seen from the following note to Bishop Blanc.

I would be very thankful to you, if you would be so kind as to give me whatever information you might about the morals and conduct of Mr. ———, that young man who lived with you at the end of 1841. I cannot see how, if he was destined by Almighty God to be a clergyman, you did not keep him for your diocese; or how, if you had clergymen enough, he did not make beforehand some application to some other place. I beg of you to be so good as to give me some information about it; which will oblige me still more, and keep stronger in my memory the kindness and attention used by you and your whole house in my passing through New Orleans, going to and coming from Habana.[12]

In the early summer of the same year our busy prelate had Father Alemany send a brief account of

[11] *Advocate,* August 24 and December 7, 1844.

[12] Letter written at Nashville, January 21, 1844 (Notre Dame Archives). The name of the addressee is not on the letter, but the context supplies it. In the same archives is a letter of Miles without either date or the addressee's name, but both are shown by the contents and the letter of Alemany just quoted. Miles tells Blanc that he is forwarding to his care a letter for Alemany who is going to Cuba "on the quest." It was at this time that Father Alemany obtained in Cuba a large crucifix which is now on the main altar at Saint Joseph's, Somerset, Ohio, and which is considered one of the finest in the United States.

the diocese to the Propaganda. Tennessee, it says, has a population of 850,000, among whom there are some eleven hundred Catholics. English is the language ordinarily used, but in some places German is spoken. The clergy, counting the bishop, are eight in number. There are five churches and chapels built. Besides these, there are three churches in course of construction, among which is the new cathedral of Nashville, whose corner-stone was laid on the Feast of Corpus Christi, or the sixth day of June just past. The diocesan seminary is under the direction of a Dominican. The Sisters of Charity, seven in number, have a convent and a school attended by eighty pupils.[13]

Bishop Miles was an ardent believer in Catholic education, and even strove to do whatever he could for the advancement of the negro. In spite of his untoward circumstances, Father Alemany tells us, he had "two schools for young men and boys—one in Nashville, and another in Memphis." There was also "a free school for the colored people" in the episcopal city. At this time, the male school for the whites of Nashville was kept in connection with the seminary; while that for the blacks would seem to have been conducted, in the best way that it could, in the former frame church on Capitol Hill. Possibly Father McAleer had Eugene Magevney give religious instruction to the youths of Saint Peter's Parish after hours, and for this reason Alemany's relation classifies the "Memphis Academy" as a Catholic school.[14]

[13] Propaganda Archives, America Centrale, Vol. XIII—copy in Nashville Archives.

[14] This is the earliest mention we have seen of a Catholic school in Memphis.

In his love of learning, the Father of the Church in Tennessee was in quest of books wherever he went. From Europe, where Bishop O'Finan proved one of his best patrons in that regard, he obtained many volumes. With these collections not only was the little seminary well supplied for the time, but also, as we learn from the Alemany relation and other sources, two circulating libraries were started—one in Nashville, and the other at Saint Michael's. Doctor Miles' object in the establishment of these libraries, Father Alemany states, was to afford those who loved to read, whether Catholic or non-Catholic, an opportunity to become informed on the teachings of the Church.[15]

Meanwhile, Father N. D. Young had been elected prior at Saint Rose's. Anxious to celebrate in a befitting manner possibly the first Saint Dominic's Day which he had spent at that institution since he was a student there, Father Young persuaded Bishop Miles, then on business in Kentucky, to grace the occasion with his presence. Several Jesuit Fathers and Scholastics came from Saint Mary's. The Rev. William Murphy, president of the college, preached the panegyric. Bishop Miles sang the solemn pontifical mass, at which he gave minor orders to three Dominican students, and conferred subdeaconship on Brothers Sydney Albert Clarkson and Joseph Thomas Ryan. The church was not large enough to admit all who came for the ceremonies.

Exhausted by his labors at home, our venerable prelate rested for a little more than a week at Saint Rose's and Saint Catherine's. The love which the peo-

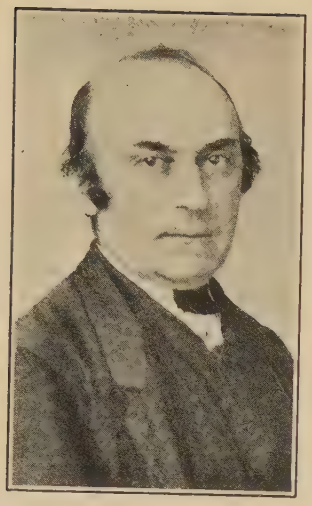
15 The yearly *Catholic Almanacs;* Miles, Rome, February 18, 1841, to Bishop O'Finan, O.P. (Archives of Saint Joseph's Province).

ple of the parish bore him made them ever anxious to have him confirm their children. Accordingly, on Sunday, August 11, 1844, he again administered the sacrament of confirmation at Saint Rose's, before which he spoke to the children on the graces which confirmation would bestow upon them, and the obligations which they were about to assume. After the high mass, he delivered a sermon on death which brought tears to every eye.[16]

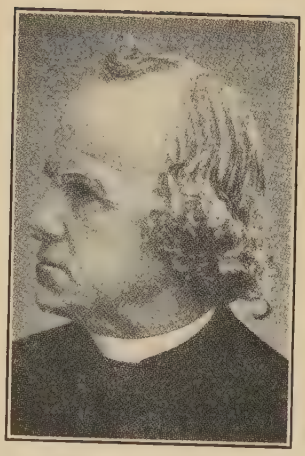
But we soon find the tireless man back in his own diocese, and occupied with its needs. On December 8, 1844, he dedicated the Church of the Immaculate Conception, built by Father Schacht at Clarksville. Before the ceremony, the bishop gave an "explanation of its character and object." Father Maguire preached after the dedication. In the evening of the same day, Bishop Miles gave another sermon, and administered confirmation. "A mitred Bishop and priests in their respective robes," writes the *Advocate's* correspondent, "had never been seen publicly in our town; and you may well judge, Mr. Editor, of the anxious looks of the multitude." The non-Catholics were so taken with the holy prelate that many asked the favor of speaking with him. This he readily granted, and they were so well pleased that a goodly number of them thereafter attended the Immaculate Conception on the Sundays when mass was said at Clarksville.[17]

Saint Patrick's, near Waverly, Humphreys County, progressed more slowly. Father Schacht himself dedicated this church on Easter Sunday, March 23, 1845.[18]

[16] *Advocate,* August 25, 1844.
[17] *Advocate,* April 12, 1845. [18] *Ibid.*



REV. IVO SCHACHT



REV. WILLIAM HOWARD

THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION CHURCH

CLARKSVILLE'S FIRST CHURCH, AND TWO PRIESTS ORDAINED BY BISHOP MILES

Meantime, Father Maguire had apparently been sent to Saint Louis on business in connection with the Nashville cathedral, for it was necessary to seek in many places the means required for its completion. Sunday, January 19, 1845, he preached in the church attached to Saint Louis University at the ten o'clock mass, and again in the evening to "the society for the conversion of sinners." Says a contributor to the *Catholic Herald:* "He is a clear, cogent, and forcible speaker, his aim evidently being, not to dazzle the imagination with high sounding, pompous language, but to convince the mind and improve the heart. . . . ; and on both occasions [he] gained the warm approbation of large audiences." [19]

Bishop Flaget still retained the titles to the property in Nashville which he had obtained from Anthony Foster in 1821. Bishop Miles now asked that it should be transferred to him. Evidently his request was misinterpreted; for he writes to the vicar general of Louisville, Doctor Spalding:

Nashville, August 22, 1845.

Very Rev. dear Friend:—

I perceive from your last favour that in our late correspondence we have mutually misunderstood each other, and the shortest way would be to say no more about it till we meet; when, if necessary, we will give the matter a further investigation. I beg leave only to say in addition that, in the remark made about the deed, I had no intention to allude to anything dishonourable to Bishop Flaget. There is no person living of my acquaintance whose virtue I respect, and whose person I honour more than Bishop Flaget; and consequently he is the last one that I would be disposed to speak of with disrespect.

Be kind enough to attend to the deed when convenient, and

19 *Herald,* February 13, 1845. The *Herald's* letter is dated January 23.

allow me to assure you that I am, as heretofore,

Truly yours in Christ,

†Richard Pius Miles,

Bishop of Nashville.[20]

The friendly, amicable tone of this document, as is the case with practically all our bishop's communications, speaks for itself. That it allayed Doctor Spalding's wrath is evident from the next letter of the apostle of Tennessee to him; for there the grateful prelate writes:

Nashville, August 29, 1845.

Very Rev. dear Sir:—

Permit me to thank you for the very kind attention and great interest you have shown for my welfare. I have, agreeably to your instructions, procured a copy of the form in which the matter regarding the deed for the lot is to be managed, which I send you. With regard to the form of the deed, I think it had better be, as you say, made to my heirs or assigns, as it would be somewhat difficult to get myself incorporated, the legislature having refused that favour to another more liable to succeed than your humble servant. I should therefore be afraid to try it. It is not necessary to wait for the return of Mr. Maguire, as any other two witnesses acknowledging their signatures before the court of Louisville will be sufficient.

The Sisters' school has commenced under circumstances more flattering than usual. No news worthy your attention.

Truly yours in Christ,

†Richard Pius Miles,

Bishop of Nashville.[21]

[20] Archives of Nazareth Academy, near Bardstown, Kentucky. Father Spalding was now vicar general. Just before the date of this letter, or June 8, 1845, there died one of Tennessee's great men whose life perhaps exercised considerable influence on the erection of Nashville into a diocese —Andrew Jackson. He was friendly towards Catholics, and it is not at all unlikely that his fame drew the attention of the bishops towards Tennessee, and had its part in making them believe that a bishopric should be established there.

[21] Archives of Nazareth Academy. There were two church lots in

Doubtless the bishop derived no little joy at this time from the good accomplished by the academy under the Sisters of Nazareth whom he had brought to his diocese. It had now attained an enviable reputation, and had some eighty or ninety pupils. All Nashville was jubilant over the exhibition of merit given at the closing exercises of the school year 1844-1845, which a contributor to the *Advocate* paints in eulogistic terms. He begins by saying:

> I was present at the annual exhibition of St. Mary's Female Academy conducted by the Sisters of Charity. I was kindly received by Sister Serena, the Superior. Their neat, clean, and beautiful house charmed me. Its location is a delightful one; it is one of the best furnished houses in the city. I met with many of the elite of the city, accompanied by their blooming daughters full of hope and anxious to display the knowledge acquired during the scholastic year.[22]

The exercises, as was then the custom, consisted principally of examinations. Father Maguire conducted them with skill, and the girls showed the thoroughness with which the school was conducted. It is worthy of note, in this connection, that the editor of the *United States Catholic Magazine* was so pleased with the account of the closing exercises of the Nashville institution that he chose it for notice in preference to all others which he saw for that year.[23] Another thing revealed in the account is the care with which Bishop

question—one donated by Anthony Foster, the other bought from him. Possibly Bishop Flaget felt that he should be paid for the lot which he had purchased; while Bishop Miles thought that it belonged to the diocese, because the money paid for it had been contributed in Nashville. Flaget's deed of the lots to Miles bears the date of September 3, 1845, and is in Deed Book VIII, pp. 161-162, Recorder's Office, Nashville. Five dollars were the consideration paid for them.

22 *Advocate,* July 26, 1845.

23 *U. S. C. Magazine,* September, 1845.

Miles selected a home for the sisters and a location for the school. In the midst of his labors he received an invitation from Bishop Purcell to be present for the consecration of the new cathedral in Cincinnati, to which he responded in his usual happy manner, interspersing a little of the wit which he ever had at command.

Nashville, September 8, 1845.

Right Rev. dear Friend:—

Your very kind invitation to be present at the consecration of your Cathedral has been received, and if possible I will do myself the honour to be there. I am at present engaged in directing the building of my own little affair; which I hope, by that time, will be sufficiently advanced to allow my absence for that grand occasion. As for the discourses of which you speak—there will be no necessity, I suppose, for me to preach, as there will no doubt be some good preachers present, and my awkward manner would only spoil the solemnity of the occasion. Don't, then, count on any discourse from me. Anything that I can do I will do cheerfully.

Please remember me to Mrs. McClellan [?], with whom I deeply sympathize for her late bereavement.

Sincerely and truly yours in Christ,
† Richard Pius Miles,
Bishop of Nashville.[24]

On his way north, the venerable prelate stopped at Saint Rose's, where, on Sunday, October 26, 1845, he again held an ordination, and administered confirmation to the children of the parish. Brothers S. A. Clarkson and J. T. Ryan were now made deacons; Brother James Vincent Edelen received subdeaconship; whilst the tonsure and minor orders were conferred on Brothers Anthony Raymond Gangloff, Thomas Dominic Buck-

[24] Notre Dame Archives.

man, and Joseph Augustine Kelly.[25] Nor must we omit the expressions of high regard here repeated by the *Advocate's* correspondent; for (it can not be too constantly borne in mind) to overlook the love, esteem, and admiration which he everywhere inspired were wholly to fail in forming a correct estimate of Bishop Miles.

> The many virtues of this Right Rev. Prelate [he says], and his amiability of character had long since endeared him to the people of this congregation, of which he was many years the pastor; and his occasional visits, prompted no doubt by a correspondent feeling of attachment for the people of his former charge, are always hailed with joy and congratulation. But the attestation of the high regard they have for him is the deep effect which his feeling appeals to them upon the subject of their eternal interests always produce. His voice has always the force of a pastor's, a father's, a friend's. His visits give also to the Catholics, as well as to the Protestants, of this neighborhood the opportunity of witnessing some of the most imposing rites of our holy religion.

Bishop Purcell had made elaborate preparations for the consecration of his new Cathedral of Saint Peter, which took place on November 2, 1845. The Most Rev. Samuel Eccleston performed the ceremony, being the first archbishop who had ever gone west of the Alleghany Mountains. Eight other prelates were present. The celebration did not close until Tuesday. Bishop Miles sang the solemn mass of requiem on Monday, November 3, and was no doubt selected for this function not merely on account of his splendid voice, but as much because of his great devotion to the dead.[26]

25 *Advocate,* November 1, 1845. Nearly all these men afterwards labored in the Diocese of Nashville.

26 *Telegraph,* November 6, 1845; *Advocate,* November 8, 1845; *U. S. C. Magazine,* December, 1845.

The Association for the Propagation of the Faith originated in France; the greater part of its receipts were contributed in that country; it was largely kept alive by the charity of the Catholics there; and it consequently remained under Gallic direction. It was thus no more than what might have been expected that the society should show some partiality towards French bishops in the allotments of its alms, for the human element enters even into religion. Yet not a few of our hierarchy, including some who, it would seem, could have got along without such aid, protested strongly against such a distinction. Still another factor which doubtess figured in the distribution of these funds was the assiduity with which a prelate kept the needs of his diocese before the moderators of the society.

Bishop Miles, it appears, wrote few letters to the association, and in these he gave the briefest relation of his church. Possibly he felt that this should suffice. So have we discovered but one letter of complaint from his pen against what he received. In all that he had done he had largely depended on this source of aid, for which he felt grateful. His cathedral was under way, a debt had been contracted, and he looked forward to making his payments. When, therefore, the holy prelate received notice that the allotment for Nashville had been greatly curtailed, he was almost stunned. However, he did not lose courage, for he ever trusted in God. To Bishop Purcell he wrote, December 18, 1845, to learn if money might be borrowed on reasonable terms in Cincinnati. Then he tells his friend:

I find from a letter received last evening from Paris that my allocation for this year will be less than half what it has been heretofore, though at most I have never received more than half as

much as my nearest neighbour on the north. I have had all sorts of troubles and inconveniences to struggle with from the commencement, and they seem to increase rather than diminish. Why the gentlemen of the *Propagation de la Foi* have thought proper to treat me thus is more than I can tell.[27]

Although it had been intended to erect a church in Morgan County, Father Howard apparently did not meet with success there; for the *Almanac* of 1846 does not place him at Montgomery. Possibly, however, another arrangement of the missionary forces was adjudged better. At any rate, the diocesan account for that year tells us that "East Tennessee is attended occasionally from Nashville;" and that "all the principal towns and larger villages of the state have been visited during the past spring and summer, the counties being so divided among the clergymen as to enable them to discover the scattered Catholics, and explain to our dissenting brethren the tenets of our holy religion."[28]

In the summer of the same year, Father John M. Jacquet arrived from France. He was at once put in charge of the little seminary in order that Father Alemany might be sent to help Father McAleer in the western part of the state.[29] A correspondent from Memphis writes to the *Freeman's Journal* in November, 1845:

Several years since, the Catholics of this city, under the direction of the Rev. Michael McAleer, our zealous pastor, erected a fine

27 Notre Dame Archives. The *Annales* show that Nashville received 23,940 francs in 1842; 21,560 in 1843; 28,500 in 1844; and 18,500 in 1845. From this it would seem that Bishop Miles wrote a letter to the society at this time, and that in consequence his allotment for 1845 was raised somewhat.

28 *Catholic Almanac*, 1846, p. 146.

29 Father Jacquet's first baptismal record at Nashville is dated August 25, 1845; Father Alemany's first at Memphis is dated August 16, 1845.

brick church, forty feet by seventy feet, which is now about to be entirely and finely finished, with a beautiful spire surmounted by a cross, at an elevation of one hundred feet, and will no doubt soon be consecrated to the service of Almighty God, by our Right Rev. Bishop Miles of Nashville, under the name of St. Peter's. The congregation now numbers about five hundred Catholics, and is rapidly on the increase.

Latterly, our pastor, Mr. McAleer, has been assisted in his arduous and laborious ministerial duties by the Rev. Joseph Alemany, a Spanish priest of the Order of St. Dominic, who was educated in Rome, and emigrated to America in 1840. His aid promises to be truly efficient and useful; and we confidently look for the most brilliant success to attend their combined efforts. And everything induces the belief that it will not be long before we will have a large and pious congregation regularly attending St. Peter's.[30]

The author of the article from which the above quotation is taken signs himself "G. W. M." He writes at length, and gives a glowing description of Tennessee's metropolis. Memphis is not only prosperous now; the city has also an advantageous location that must soon make it one of the greatest commercial centers in the south. Clearly his object is to attract the attention of Catholics in the north and east towards the Diocese of Nashville. In brief, the article is one among the many efforts of Bishop Miles at Catholic colonization in Tennessee.

Archbishop Eccleston's letter of notification that the sixth provincial council of Baltimore would convene in that city on May 10, 1846, and that the members of the hierarchy were expected to be there for the morning of the ninth, found the Father of the Church in Tennessee busy with his cathedral and diocese; but he at

[30] We did not find the *Freeman's Journal* containing this article; but it is copied in the *Advocate* of December 20, 1845.

once made ready to obey the voice of authority. About this time also, it would seem, he suffered the loss of another of his clergy, Father William Howard. A tradition which seems plausible tells us that Bishop Miles used to say: "Bishop Hughes stole Fathers O'Dowde, Howard, and McAleer from me."

However it happened, we find Father Howard in the Diocese of New York in 1847; while it is certain that in those days some members of our American hierarchy had little scruple about accepting a good priest from another diocese, even without consulting his bishop. Neither has one the heart severely to censure a clergyman who would succumb to an invitation from the State of New York, where Catholicity was growing by leaps and bounds, in order to escape the privations in that of Tennessee. Bishop Miles ever acted on the principle that it were wiser to give an *exeat* to those who desired it; nor would he again, except for special reasons, receive a priest who had thus left his diocese.[31]

The *Catholic Telegraph* of May 7, 1846, states that "the Right Rev. Bishops of Mobile, Natchez, Nashville, Louisville, St. Louis, Vincennes, and Dubuque passed through Cincinnati this week, attended by their theologians, on their way to the Baltimore council to convene next Sunday." No doubt Doctor Miles' heart again rejoiced in the renewed proof of the growth of our Church manifested by the presence of twice as many

31 Father Howard was born in Ireland, but he seems to have made all his ecclesiastical studies at Nashville. He was stationed in the part of the State of New York taken to form the Diocese of Albany in 1847. He labored there on several missions, and was pastor of Saint Francis de Sales' Church, Herkimer, when he retired, on account of ill health, in 1886. He died on February 25, 1888.

American prelates, less one, as had attended his first council six years before.[32]

Unfortunately for Tennessee, Bishop Loras of Dubuque took Father McAleer with him to the council as his theologian. There Memphis' pastor met the Right Rev. John Hughes, later the first archbishop of New York, who induced him to come to his diocese. In this case, the *Freeman's Journal* of March 5, 1881, gives us written evidence of the influence through which the subject of our narrative lost a good, zealous, and able priest. The departure of Father McAleer was deeply regretted by Tennessee's holy prelate, but he felt that it were just as well to make no protest now that the capable ambassador of Christ had set his mind on an opportunity which he could not give him. Father McAleer's notes in the church records show that his life at Memphis had not been a bed of roses. Possibly his trials there predisposed him to accept the call from New York, although his troubles in the south would seem to have been near their end, while the prospects for his church were becoming brighter every day.[33]

[32] It is in their accounts of this council that the *United States Catholic Magazine* (June, 1846) and the Catholic weeklies give the dates and places of the births of the bishops, placing Miles' birth on May 17, 1791. His theologian at this council was the Rev. Charles H. J. Carter of Philadelphia.

[33] Father Michael McAleer was born in County Tyrone, Ireland, March 4, 1811. His parents brought him to the United States about five years later, and settled at Frederick, Maryland. He studied at Mount Saint Mary's, Emmitsburg, and was ordained in Cincinnati by Bishop Purcell on Thursday, November 23, 1837. From that time, until he went to Tennessee (1840), he labored at Canton, Ohio, and on adjacent missions. In New York City, he was at once appointed pastor of Saint Columba's Church, retaining the charge until his death, February 24, 1881. He was buried at Frederick, Maryland. Father McAleer was a splendid preacher as well as an excellent priest and a man of considerable erudition.

Evidently our good bishop's appeal to the Association for the Propagation of the Faith had produced its effect. His allowance was enlarged. Indeed, either the society advanced him a part of what should be granted him at the end of 1846, or he obtained a further assistance from another foreign source, for he wrote from the council to his agent in Philadelphia, Mark Anthony Frenaye:

Baltimore, May 13, 1846.

Mr. Frenaye:—

Enclosed you will find a check for 18,054:15 francs, which you will please sell for me to the best advantage. By tomorrow's mail I will send you the *second*. I have signed and endorsed these checks, and you will have the goodness to fill up the blanks. As it will be some time before I shall go home, I will still ask you another favour—that you would be kind enough to exchange the proceeds of this check for checks on Nashville, if possible or expedient, and send the same immediately to *Mr. Michael Burns, Nashville*, reserving a memorandum of the amount, so that I may see it, when I shall have the pleasure of visiting my friends in Philadelphia, which will be soon.

Very grateful for past favours, I am, dear Sir,

Truly yours in Christ,

†Richard Pius Miles,

Bishop of Nashville.

P. S.—I have concluded that, as the distance is so small, I would send both [checks] together. Have the goodness to inform me, at your first leisure, if they have arrived safe.

R. P. M., B. N.[34]

By this time the bishop of Philadelphia had become one of the most sympathetic friends that the distressed apostle of Tennessee had among our American hierarchy. Doubtless it was on Doctor Kenrick's invitation

[34] *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*, December, 1902. Mark A. Frenaye was long the trusted agent in such matters for many American bishops and priests.

that he again visited the City of Brotherly Love after the council in order to make another collection in behalf of his cathedral and diocese. No doubt either, the editor of the *Catholic Herald* received authoritative word to print the following notice in his paper:

The Right Rev. Dr. Miles, Bishop of Nashville, preached at St. Mary's Church on Sunday last, after which a collection was taken up in aid of his diocess, which is in a very impoverished state, owing to the limited number of Catholics resident there, and the manner in which they are scattered throughout the diocess. Their zeal is in every way commendable; but, situated as they are, they cannot render that zeal as effective as the pressing wants of the diocess imperatively demand.

Bishop Miles feelingly enumerated some of the many privations under which he has labored since he took charge of his diocess, the arduous duties of which he was obliged for a time to discharge himself, there being not a single clergyman to assist him in the many calls appertaining to his sacred office. We sincerely hope that his mission among us and our fellow Catholics of the neighboring cities may meet with that complete success which he so well merits, and to which his cause is so eminently entitled.[35]

From Philadelphia he is said to have continued his way to New York for the same purpose. Perhaps Bishop Hughes wished, in this way, to make some sort of *amende honorable* for taking Father McAleer from Tennessee. Tradition informs us that the Nashville prelate was well repaid for these journeys. Similarly, the Right Rev. John J. Chanche of Natchez writes to Doctor Blanc, July 16, 1846: "I left Bishop Miles in the north making very successful collections."[36]

During his absence, his beloved Saint Mary's Academy closed its fourth year of successful work with an examination which was considered the best

[35] *Herald*, June 18, 1846.
[36] Notre Dame Archives.

thing of the kind that Nashville had hitherto witnessed. The elite of the city were present. Father Maguire again conducted the exercises. Governor Aaron V. Brown addressed the graduates, and gave them their diplomas. The noted geologist and chemist, Doctor Gerard Troost, complimented the day's exhibition in terms not a little eulogistic; while the public press was unsparing in its praise of the sisters and their school. The *Advocate's* contributor who gives us this information closes his article with: "The venerable Bishop Miles is expected home in a few days from the North. The Cathedral will be completed by Christmas. Our congregation is increasing very fast. Our city is very healthy, and is improving rapidly." [37]

But the holy prelate had hardly reached home, when he learned that Father John Maguire had also decided to leave Tennessee. The loss of three missionaries in so short a time, as was but natural, sorely tried the bishop's patience. Father Maguire's action, although he was within his rights as such things then went, provoked Bishop Miles all the more because in him the diocese lost not only one of its most efficient priests, but even the one who had charge of its best parish, and to whom many favors had been shown. At first it was thought that he went to Ohio. Two letters of the bishop to Doctor Purcell, in which the matter is referred to, at once reveal the wounded feelings of Tennessee's apostle, and come nearer to being severe and critical in judgment than any other we have seen from his pen.[38]

37 *Catholic Advocate,* July 20, 1846. The article is dated July 20, and is signed "M. S. M." Doubtless work on the cathedral was slackened for want of funds, for it was not completed for nearly a year later.

38 Bishop Miles to Bishop Purcell, August 28 and September 8 ("Feast of the Nativity B. V. M."), 1846 (Notre Dame Archives).

However, it would perhaps be as unjust to censure the capable, zealous, and energetic priest's determination, as it would be wrong to blame Bishop Miles, had he momentarily lost his temper under the circumstances.

An educated man himself, Father Maguire seems to have felt that he would like to try his hand at teaching for a while, and so to have turned his mind to Kentucky, instead of to Ohio. At the end of the scholastic year of 1845-1846, the Jesuit Fathers gave up Saint Mary's College in the former state. He knew that Bishop Chabrat and others did not wish to see the college closed. Consequently he must have offered himself for this good work, for the *Catholic Advocate* of December 19, 1846, announces:

It will be gratifying to the patrons of St. Mary's College to learn that the talented Rev. J. Maguire, so favorably known in Kentucky and elsewhere, has associated himself to Rev. J[ulian] Delaune in the management of this flourishing institution, where he will discharge the duties of professor.[39] We are informed that the daily increase of students has already secured a fair prospect of prosperity and usefulness to the college, and we may with confidence recommend it to parents who are anxious to give their children a good and sound education. The second session will begin on the 12th of March, 1847.[40]

Father Thomas L. Grace seems to have been sent to Memphis that he might help there while Father

[39] Father Delaune was brought from the Diocese of Vincennes.

[40] Father John D. Maguire was born in County Cavan, Ireland. His early education was directed by his Uncle, the Right Rev. George J. Browne, bishop first of Galway, and then of Elphin. Father Maguire completed his course of divinity at Mount Saint Mary's, Emmitsburg, where he seems to have been ordained by Bishop Miles in May, 1840. He was a man of scholarly attainments and a splendid orator. During the scholastic year of 1847-1848 he was vice president of Saint Mary's College, Kentucky. From the fall of 1848 to that of 1850, he held the position of president in the same institution, and continued teaching there until 1851. Shortly before he left Tennessee, a younger brother

McAleer was at the Baltimore council. But now, at the earnest solicitation of Bishop Miles for help, he was transferred from Saint Rose's, in Kentucky, where he held the posts of professor and subprior, and stationed at Saint Peter's.[41]

Our tireless prelate continued his labors on the missions, no less than with his cathedral. August 28, 1846, he wrote to Bishop Purcell to learn if he could rely on John Koehneke of Cincinnati to build a good organ for him.[42] A little later, he started on a diocesan visitation, especially in western Tennessee. Perhaps, in fact, we can not close the present chapter in a manner more acceptable to the Catholics of Memphis than with the account of the dedication of their first church given in the *Catholic Advocate* of December 19, 1846, which states:

whom he had brought from Ireland to study for the American missions died at Mount Saint Mary's, Emmitsburg. From 1851 to 1854 he was pastor of Saint Peter's, Lexington, Kentucky, where he built the first Catholic school erected in that city. In 1854 and 1855, he was pastor of Saint Peter's, Newport, Kentucky. The *Almanac* of 1856 shows him pastor of the cathedral in Chicago. The *Catholic Telegraph* of June 29, 1910, says that he was for a while at Notre Dame University; but as the records of that institution do not reveal his name, it is probable that this error was occasioned by the fact that Saint Mary's College, Kentucky, was under the Fathers of the Holy Cross late in 1846 (*Catholic Almanac,* 1847, p. 128; *Le Très Rév. Père Basile-Antoine-Marie Moreau,* pp. 194-195). Father Maguire was likely with them there for a while.

From Chicago, it would seem, he returned to Ireland because of the ill health of his uncle, Bishop Browne, who died on December 1, 1858. A few years later, the talented young priest (he was only in his early forties) died in Egypt while on a tour for literary purposes.

[41] Father McAleer's last baptismal record at Memphis is dated April 7, 1846. Father Grace records for the first time on April 14, 1846, and a few times in May. From the fall of the same year he records regularly. On November 17, 1846, Father Alemany signs himself "vice pastor."

[42] Notre Dame Archives.

We learn from a gentleman recently from Memphis that on Sunday, the 22nd of November, the beautiful Catholic Church at that place, recently erected by the Rev. Michael McAleer, and now under the pastoral care of the Rev. Messrs. Alemany and Grace, O.S.D., was solemnly dedicated to the service of Almighty God, under the patronage of St. Peter, by the Right Rev. R. P. Miles, assisted by the Rev. Geo. Wilson, Provincial of the Order of Dominicans, with the Pastors of the congregation. The day was beautiful, and the church was crowded to overflowing. The Rev. Mr. Wilson sung High Mass, and the Bishop delivered a very eloquent and appropriate sermon on the occasion.

In the afternoon of the same day Vespers were sung, and the Sacrament of Confirmation was administered by the bishop to about forty persons, several of whom were recent converts. The whole service of the day, being conducted according to the manner prescribed by the ritual, made a most striking and favorable impression upon the minds of the large and respectable audience, a majority of whom were Protestants, and who had never previously witnessed anything of the kind.

A small belfry, instead of a spire, crowned the church. Doubtless one of the reasons for this change was the difficulty of getting money. Indeed, the erection of the edifice itself had been a slow, tedious process; and it was used for divine service long before completion. By this time also, the pastors could see that it were unwise to spend much in ornamentation, for the influx of Catholics was such that a larger temple of prayer would soon be required to accommodate them.

CHAPTER XVIII

PROGRESS SLOW, BUT STEADY

No doubt the reader has wondered how Bishop Miles managed to make both ends meet with so small an income. One of the explanations of this feat is the simple life led by himself and his priests. Father Samuel Montgomery, who had shown no little skill in the management of such affairs while syndic at Saint Rose's, was appointed steward of the episcopal household; and his meager book of accounts which has happily escaped the ravages of time reveals the rigid economy practised there. Only necessaries were purchased; nothing was wasted.[1] Nevertheless at no time was the holy prelate's hand closed to the poor. In fact, he sought in every way to aid the honest and deserving, whatever their color, nationality, or creed. This plain, frugal life and impartial charity united with his other virtues to make him so justly and universally beloved.

The experience of the bishop during the period just recounted convinced him that he could not with safety rely on the perseverance of freer priests in his diocese, be they ever so zealous and unselfish. Their privations in Tennessee were such that they could hardly be expected to decline better opportunities offered them in other places. After the departure of Fathers McAleer and Maguire, therefore, the man of God

[1] Archives of Saint Joseph's Province.

determined to proffer Memphis to a religious order. Naturally, his preference was the institute to which he had belonged; for, apart from other reasons, two of its members were already in the city.

Doubtless the tender was made in November, 1846, while the bishop was in Memphis for the dedication of Saint Peter's. At any rate, the church property there was deeded over to the Dominicans on January 15, 1847. We have discovered no statement to that effect; yet it is quite probable that the zealous prelate was in the city on another apostolic visitation at the time of the transfer, even though such a tour then involved more time as well as infinitely more trials and fatigue than a journey from Memphis to New York in our day. It goes without saying that the offer was readily accepted. Besides, the arrangement was no less beneficial to the diocese than helpful to the Province of Saint Joseph. On the one hand, it assured a succession of priests in western Tennessee. On the other it gave the fathers the best place which they had so far obtained, though the province had been in existence for forty years, and none in the country had labored harder than they.[2]

Because of his age and infirmities, Bishop Flaget had placed the administration of his diocese into the hands of his coadjutor, Doctor Chabrat. In 1847, this

[2] A photostat copy of the deed. Father Martin P. Spalding's notes on the province say that Saint Peter's was given to the Order in 1845. But we found no record to that effect; and the facts in the case show the statement to be erroneous. Doubtless Father Spalding drew his conclusion from the presence of Father Alemany in Memphis at that time (or depended on papers which made the same statement on the same grounds). Father McAleer was pastor of Saint Peter's until his resignation at the council of Baltimore, in May, 1846.

prelate determined to make a visitation of the parishes of Kentucky in order to help the people the better to make the general jubilee which was celebrated that year. But while thus occupied he suffered a renewed attack of an ocular malady which had long threatened him with blindness. He then determined to go to Europe for treatment, and engaged the ever-willing Bishop Miles to complete the visitation of the diocese.[3]

In this way the subject of our narrative spent a considerable portion of the jubilee year in Kentucky. From about the middle of June to the middle of July, he labored in Spencer, Nelson, Washington, and Marion counties. Among the places visited were Taylorsville, Fairfield, Saint Vincent's, Bardstown, New Haven, Gate's Station, Saint Rose's, and Holy Cross, and the academies of Nazareth, Lorretto, Gethsemani (where now stands Kentucky's celebrated Trappist monastery), and Saint Magdalen's (the present Saint Catherine's). On all these occasions, he preached and administered the sacrament of confirmation. "His discourses," says the *Advocate,* "made a very favorable and beneficial impression." On Monday morning, July 12, he blessed and laid the corner-stone of Saint Magdalen's new chapel belonging to the Dominican Sisters, near Springfield.[4]

At this juncture, he was obliged to return to his own diocese, but he promised to return to Kentucky that he might carry out his engagement with Bishop Chabrat to make visitations in Breckinridge, Hardin, Daviess, Union, and other western counties.[5] That

[3] *Advocate,* May 29, 1847.
[4] *Advocate,* July 24, 1847.
[5] *Advocates* of May 29 and July 24, 1847.

he did so, if at all possible, we may take for granted, although we did not discover any account of his labors in these places; for there never lived a man truer to his word than was the Father of the Church in Tennessee. However, these toils in Kentucky, the fulfillment of the jubilee in his own diocese, work on his own cathedral, and other cares must have given him a busy year.[6] August 13, 1847, he sent an account of his diocese to the Propaganda, the substance of which is as follows.

Although it is ten years since his appointment to the See of Nashville, he has been bishop only nine, for a year elapsed before he accepted the dreaded burden. During this time, the Catholic religion has made little progress in the diocese in comparison with its rapid strides in other parts of the country. However, in view of the long neglect of Tennessee; the deep root taken there by infidelity, no less than a strong dislike towards and wide-spread prejudices against Catholicity which gained ground as a consequence of this neglect; and the fact that the state offers few advantages to immigrants from Europe, he thinks it no exaggeration to say that much good has been accomplished.

A decade ago, there was not a single priest in the state. Even in 1840 he had but one little church; while, with the exception of Nashville and on the public works at Memphis and Athens, there were not more than ten Catholics in any locality. The total number did not exceed three or four hundred. Today there are six priests, six churches, three chapels, a

[6] The *Advocates* of September 11 and 25, 1847, show that Bishop Chabrat's resignation of his coadjutorship (made on account of his health) was accepted at this time; but this made no difference in regard to Bishop Miles' visitation, for he would just as readily do it for Bishop Flaget.

convent of Sisters of Charity who conduct a school and academy for girls, a free school for negroes, and a Catholic population of some fifteen hundred. Our holy faith is continually preached in places where a priest was never heard before. Not more than eighty-five adults have been received into the Church since he took charge of the diocese; but the number of conversions assumes a greater proportion year by year, which gives hope for a more abundant harvest in the future.[7]

This frank, open exposition of the state of his diocese, without pretense, and without effort to cover up the slow growth of religion in that part of the Lord's vineyard under his charge, must have pleased the sacred congregation. If one may judge by the reports of conversions here and there, the account rather lessened than enlarged the number of those who had come into the Church. Doubtless it was due to his many cares at the time that he overlooked the little seminary, the two schools for Catholic boys, and the cathedral that was nearing completion. On September 10, 1847, he wrote to Bishop Purcell in regard to this last item:

I have at length so far advanced with my church as to have reason to hope that it will be ready for dedication on the last Sunday of October, and have set that time for it. May I indulge the hope of having your company on that occasion? I shall be truly gratified if you can do me that favour. As our church is not paid for, it will only be blessed for the present. If you will honour us with your presence on that occasion, we shall expect you to preach the dedication sermon. The organ intended for our church is being built in your city. I hope that good Dutchman will not disappoint us.[8]

7 A copy in the Nashville Archives from the Propaganda, Udienza di Signore Nostro del 1847, Vol. 107, fol. 1248.

8 Notre Dame Archives.

The time between the date of this letter and the end of October was no doubt well filled in with episcopal visitations in Kentucky and his own diocese. However, work on the cathedral progressed as he anticipated; for the Nashville *Daily Union* of November 3, 1847, says: "On Sunday, the 31st ultimo, a large body of our fellow-citizens witnessed a novel and imposing spectacle—the dedication of the new Catholic Cathedral, just completed. This beautiful edifice, situated on the corner of Cedar and Summer streets, is an ornament to our city." Then follows a description of the church and ceremonies, but we prefer that contained in the *Catholic Advocate* of November 20. Yet we must not omit the statement of the *Union* that the cathedral "reflects credit upon its architect", and that "Dr. Miles deserves much praise for his taste and enterprise in decorating our city with this additional architectural monument."

The new Cathedral of Nashville [says the *Advocate* of November 20, 1847] was dedicated to Almighty God on the 31st ultimo under the name and patronage of the *Blessed Virgin of the Seven Dolors*. It is a chaste and beautiful specimen of Grecian architecture, and is situated in the heart of the city. Its external dimensions are one hundred and ten feet in length by sixty in breadth. The ceiling is thirty-two feet above the floor; it is flat, and is tastefully decorated with mouldings and square panel work. The front presents a neat half portico supported by two fine Ionic columns; and the entire exterior and interior of the edifice are ornamented with pilasters placed at suitable distances, imparting additional strength to the walls.

Under the Cathedral there is a spacious and commodious basement designed for catechism classes and school rooms. The high altar stands in a semicircular recess, and is surmounted by an appropriate group of statuary representing the Most Sorrowful Mother receiving the lifeless body of her dear son when He was

taken down from the cross, these principal figures being surrounded by a circle of angels. The figures are composed of what is called *sand-stone paper,* and the whole group was procured in France.

The cost of the structure, the *Advocate* proceeds to state, was at least $30,000, which were collected by Bishop Miles not merely in Nashville, but also in many parts of the United States. Because a considerable debt still remains on the cathedral, it could be only blessed; but the worthy bishop hopes to have it consecrated at a future day. The man of God himself performed the solemn ceremony of dedication, during which Bishop Purcell explained from a platform the significance of all that was done. Bishop Portier of Mobile then sang a solemn high mass, and Doctor M. J. Spalding delivered the sermon for the occasion. Among the clergy present was Father Elisha J. Durbin who doubtless came to witness the consummation for which he had often prayed. Bishop Purcell preached again in the evening. Both the *Advocate* and the *Union* assure us that great crowds witnessed the ceremony, and listened to the preaching with rapt attention.

Doctor Spalding was persuaded to remain another week at Nashville, and to lecture every night on religion or some point of Catholic faith. The impression which he produced was profound. Indeed, says the correspondent, "the progress of our holy religion in the Diocese of Nashville cannot but be consoling to every Catholic heart." Then he proceeds to relate the early trials which the man of God had to face, to tell what he had accomplished in spite of almost unparalleled difficulties, and to speak of the "excellent and well-selected ecclesiastical library" which he had collected, closing his article with these words: "All this he has

been able to effect, through the divine blessing, with the most scanty means. Thus has one of the most unpromising fields in the American Church been made to yield an abundant harvest."

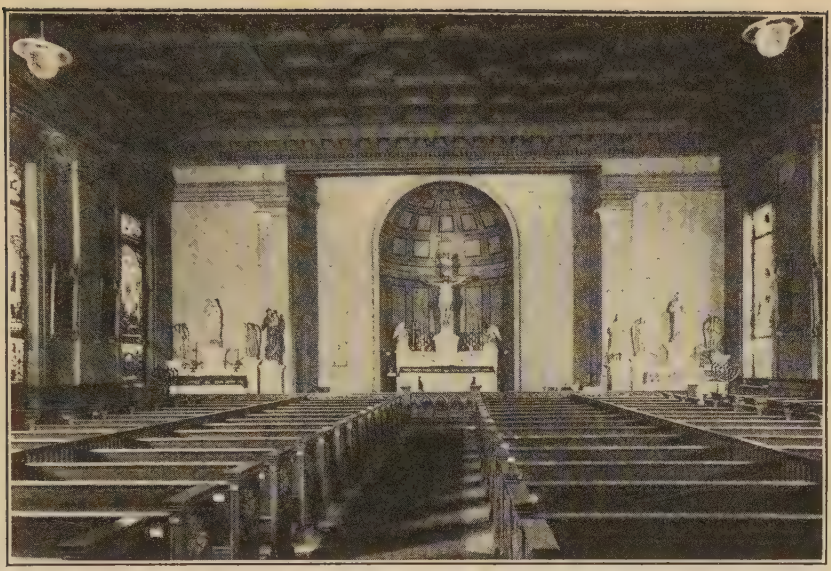
Another item which deserves notice here appeared in the previous issue of the *Advocate*. Here we learn that on the day after the dedication Bishop Purcell confirmed a class of twenty-two in the new cathedral, fourteen of whom were converts. Besides these, there were four others who had lately been received into the Church, but had not had time to prepare for the reception of the sacrament.[9] From this one may see how modest Doctor Miles was in the account of his diocese which he sent to Rome. Possibly he meant to say that there had been eighty-five converts in the episcopal city, where, the *Advocate's* notice of the dedication assures us, the Catholics now numbered some eight hundred.

The Seven Dolors Cathedral, all things considered, was really a noteworthy achievement; and it was so considered at the time. Its cost, said by some to have been from $40,000 to $50,000, represented a huge sum for that day; yet there were not more than fifteen hundred Catholics in all Tennessee, who were poor as well as scattered throughout the state. Even now Nashville has not a more beautiful or devotional church. William Strickland, an architect of no mean reputation and the builder of Tennessee's state capitol, is reported to have considered it his finest ecclesiastical structure.[10]

Bishop Miles himself was certainly well pleased with

[9] *Advocate,* November 13, 1847. The publication of the account of the dedication was delayed through a mishap in the mails, which caused this item to appear before it.

[10] The Tennessee state capitol, minus the cupola which is not a conception of Strickland, is considered a gem of Greek architecture.



INTERIOR AND EXTERIOR OF THE SEVEN DOLORS CATHEDRAL

BUILT BY BISHOP MILES, STILL ONE OF NASHVILLE'S FINEST CHURCHES, AND REGARDED AS A SHRINE BY ITS CATHOLICS

it, while its beneficial effects soon became evident. In a letter to Bishop Purcell, December 9, 1847, he writes: "We are much gratified to see a fine congregation in our new church every Sunday. And there are fine prospects of increase, which, though slow, will be steady. *Sit nomen Domini benedictum!* [Blessed be the name of the Lord!] Be kind enough to beg of God to aid our feeble efforts." Two other letters, of dates respectively January 21 and February 3, 1848, to Doctor Purcell show that our anxious prelate's heart had been gladdened by the reception of a beautiful madonna for his cathedral.[11]

In Memphis also Fathers Alemany and Grace had started a ladies' altar society for the beautification of the house of God, whose labors soon bore good fruit. The deft fingers of its members wrought vestments for the clergy and articles, useful as well as ornamental, for the altar and sanctuary. Among the noteworthy things which they did was to have a crucifixion painted by the well-known Tennessee artist, William Cooper. This picture long hung over the high altar, and was an object of general admiration. In October, 1847, they held a bazaar in Hightower Hall to raise funds for the purchase of a large bell for the church.[12] Father Alemany, however, was soon made master of novices in Kentucky. Father James Hyacinth Clarkson, a friend of the bishop, took his place as pastor of Saint Peter's.[13]

The Memphis parish, in fact, was now fast overtaking

11 All these letters are in the Notre Dame Archives.

12 *Advocate*, November 6, 1847, and January 22, 1848.

13 Father Alemany's last baptism at Saint Peter's was on November 27, and Father Clarkson's first on December 15, 1847.

that of Nashville. While on a visitation of the western part of his diocese, Bishop Miles administered confirmation there, February 27, 1848, to a class of twenty-four, three of whom were converts. In an interesting account of the event the correspondent of the *Advocate* states:

> Our congregation is rapidly increasing. The number is now at least seven hundred. In general intelligence and respectability we compare favorably with any other class of our citizens. Many of the most worthy of the Protestants attend regularly at our church, and evince great liberality on all occasions. Though few converts have as yet been made, we trust the good seed that is sown will, in due time, fructify and produce a hundred fold.[14]

Hardly had the bishop reached home when he was rejoiced by the arrival of an Italian priest who soon proved one of the most zealous and self-sacrificing missionaries of Tennessee—Father Aloysius Orengo, O.P.[15] After the departure of the Rev. John Maguire, Father Schacht had been brought from Clarksville to Nashville.[16] On the return of the bishop, pursuant to his desire of having the scattered Catholics visited as frequently as possible, he sent the Belgian priest on a tour of the eastern part of the state. It was a hard journey. Because the streams were much swollen by rains, Father Schacht had not merely to cross mountains by the roughest roads; in nearly every instance he was obliged to make his horse swim the rivers. However,

[14] *Advocate* of March 18, 1848. The article is dated March 5, and signed "J. H."

[15] Father Orengo wrote on the title-page of a Gury's *Theologia Moralis* that he arrived in Nashville on March 24, 1847; but this was written long after, when he had forgotten the year. The baptismal records at Saint Rose's, Kentucky, show that he was there until in February, 1848. His first record at Nashville is dated March 26, 1848.

[16] *Catholic Almanac,* 1847, p. 134.

he continued his way, searching in every direction for those who might be of the faith.

In Morgan County, the first place he mentions, the colony of Germans and Irish, who had gathered there largely through the instrumentality of Bishop Miles, was visited, and found to be on the increase. The agent of the land company gave a bond for fifty acres of ground which were to be set apart for a priest, and donated a lot in Wartburg for a church and school, the latter of which the Catholics engaged to build in the near future. Thence the missionary journeyed southward to Tellico Plains, at the foot of the Unaka or Great Smoky Mountains, Monroe County, where he discovered about thirty Catholic emigrants from Holland. Here Judge Johnson, for whom most of the Hollanders labored, deeded to the bishop two acres of land near the iron works for a church. The Bayer Settlement, Polk County, was visited next; and while there our ambassador of Christ went to a neighboring village occupied by a remnant of the Cherokee Indians.

Father Schacht does not appear to have gone to Knoxville or Jonesborough, for he does not mention them by name, while his route lay rather in another direction. However, he tells us that, with the exception of an Italian and a Frenchman, all the Catholics he met eagerly availed themselves of the opportunity of approaching the sacraments. He rode seven hundred miles on the tour, and reached home shortly before Easter, which fell that year on the twenty-third day of April.[17]

Meanwhile, Bishop Miles decided to convert the old

[17] *Advocate*, June 24, 1848. The article is dated June 15, and signed "Verax," a pseudonym under which Father Schacht often wrote.

Holy Rosary Cathedral, which faced north on Gay Street, into a hospital and girls' orphan asylum. This task was entrusted to Father Schacht immediately after his return from the missionary journey just outlined. The project met with a warm welcome from all the city. "Above all," says Father Schacht, "my Irishmen proved again, what needed no longer any proof, that they are always by the side of their priest in works of benevolence and charity. It was not so much the labor itself, but the *spirit* in which they performed it, that cheered me most." In an astonishingly short time both institutions were in operation. They were placed under the charge of the Sisters of Charity, and effected much good in Nashville—especially among the poorer and middle classes.[18]

In the remodeling of the proto-cathedral for a hospital the new front given the structure made it face towards the east. Its number was then 63 North High Street. Simultaneously with this renovation Father Schacht either erected a frame cottage on the same plot of ground for the sisters in charge, or converted the original wooden church into a home for them. Very likely the smaller orphans at least were domiciled in this with their pious guardians.[19]

Among the matters in which Bishop Miles took a keen interest at this time was the appointment of Doctor Spalding as coadjutor of Louisville. It had

[18] *Advocate* of April 22, 1848; June 24, 1848; and January 20, 1849 (this letter is also signed "Verax," and is dated January 12); and the Nashville *Republican Banner,* January 5, 1849.

[19] The *Nashville Directory* (by John P. Campbell), 1853-1854; 1855-1856; 1857. The stretch of High Street towards which these buildings fronted is now called "Park." The land on which they stood forms a part of the state-capitol grounds, and is no longer occupied by any structures except the state-house.

been understood that the learned divine had received the appointment, but opposition on the part of some caused it to be held in abeyance. Uneasy because of the delay, our Nashville prelate wrote to Bishop Purcell:

What has become of Dr. Spalding? I had received information from him sometime since that the Coadjutorship of Louisville has been conferred on him, and that he was going to Cincinnati to make a retreat in order to decide whether he would accept or not. I have not had a word from him directly or indirectly for a month, and fear some mistake has been made as to the nomination. Could you give me any information on the subject?[20]

A little later, he took a journey to the east, perhaps as much in the interest of his friend as in that of his own diocese. From Baltimore he wrote to Doctor Spalding to tell him how kindly he was received by Archbishop Eccleston who immediately introduced the question of the Louisville coadjutorship, and told him that Bishop Flaget had now agreed to leave the matter to the metropolitan and Bishop F. P. Kenrick of Philadelphia. Then he adds:

It is now pretty well understood here that the Bulls for your nomination have, through misrepresentation, either not been issued, or have been suppressed, and consequently the matter stands *in statu quo,* and will remain so till the Archbishop's letter reaches Rome—which, I trust, will put a final quietus to this disgraceful affair. . . . I need not exhort you to patience, nor tell you how solicitous I feel in your regard; but I may say that all your friends are doubly so since the injustice and ill treatment you have suffered have come to their knowledge. I hope your health will have been much improved ere this reaches you; and it is my sincerest wish that Kentucky may be represented in our next Provincial Council by one of her own sons, even if her Foreign Ally should be doomed to immoderate regret in consequence.[21]

Four months later, the subject of our narrative had

20 Notre Dame Archives. Letter dated March 30, 1848.
21 Baltimore Archives, Case 35, I 8. Letter dated May 23, 1848.

the satisfaction of assisting at the consecration of Doctor Spalding in the cathedral of Louisville. Venerable Bishop Flaget performed the ceremony on September 10, 1848. Bishop F. P. Kenrick was the other assistant, while Archbishop Peter R. Kenrick of Saint Louis preached the sermon.[22] The ceremonies have always been considered among the most interesting ever witnessed in Kentucky.

January 14, 1849, the Father of the Church in Tennessee consecrated Father Maurice De St. Palais bishop of Vincennes in the old French town from which the see took its name. He and Doctor Spalding were the only prelates who had the courage to face the awful weather in order to be present at this ceremony. Spalding, therefore, not only acted as assistant consecrator, but also preached, the other assistant being the Rev. Hippolytus Dupontavice. The Vincennes correspondent of the *Advocate* thanks Bishops Miles and Spalding for heroicly braving the tempestuous time, states that the ceremony "was admirably performed by the very dignified Consecrator," and thus closes his account of the event: "The venerable Consecrator must indeed have ranked that day among the happiest of his life. Our Bishop is joined by his flock in wishing him *ad multos annos.*"[23]

The Saint John's Hospital and Orphan Asylum had been put in operation the previous October. Prior to starting for Vincennes, the bishop had decided to hold a supper for the liquidation of the debt which still remained on the establishment. This took place in Masonic Hall, January 9, 1849, during the holy man's

[22] *Advocate,* September 16, 1848.
[23] *Advocate,* January 27, 1849.

absence. Father Schacht, who managed the affair, writes of it: "If our good Bishop had been at home, he would have been agreeably convinced that his labors here have not been in vain. No doubt he never expected, ten years ago, that such a change would take place in Nashville." Catholicity, he proceeds to say, is making great strides in the city. On All Saints' Day one hundred and twenty-four persons received holy communion, while at least two hundred approached the sacraments at Christmas. In Memphis also, where the bishop had sent him to assist the Germans the week before advent, he was "surprised and delighted" at the rapid progress of the true religion, no less than at the respect which he found the Church to enjoy in the prosperous town. About affairs there he also writes:

> Much credit is due to the zeal and talents of the Dominican Fathers of Memphis. Through their endeavors, under God, the Church is taking a stand worthy of herself, and practical religion is decidedly on the increase; for the good example of religious orders has always a good effect on the congregation. At early mass on Sundays the church was nearly filled, and entirely so at high mass. Many of the attendants were Protestants, but their religious demeanor proved at once that they came to learn, and not to cavil. Indeed, the church appeared far too small to accommodate the people.[24]

Hardly had Bishop Miles returned from Indiana, when he was obliged to start for Saint Louis that he might be present at the consecration of Father James O. Van De Velde, S.J., as the second bishop of Chicago. This event took place in the Church of Saint Francis Xavier, attached to Saint Louis University, February 11, 1849. The Most Rev. R. P. Kenrick performed the ceremony, in which he was assisted by Bishops

[24] *Advocate,* January 20, 1849, as in note 18.

Miles and Loras. Doctor Spalding preached for the occasion.[25] Scarcely had he settled down to his work again, when the tireless prelate received notification of the seventh provincial council of Baltimore which was to convene in early May.

To Bishop Purcell he wrote, April 9, 1849, that he hoped to leave Nashville on the sixteenth, and to be in Cincinnati on the following Friday or Saturday, and that he would stay over Sunday in that city. "I must then [he continues] allow myself a week to visit my brethren and old parishioners about Somerset and Zanesville. After which I shall, I hope, be able to meet you at Wheeling on the Wednesday following."[26] That he carried out this design is evident from the fact that he gave confirmation at the church of the Jesuit Fathers in Cincinnati on Sunday, April 22.[27] The vote of the council in favor of a definition of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception pleased his piety, while its petition for the creation of three archdioceses, the erection of several new sees, and the establishment of two vicariates apostolic gladdened his soul as a further proof of the Church's growth.[28]

But his frequent absences in order to gratify friends in the hierarchy by his presence at their consecrations caused the man of God to hurry home, where affairs called for his attention. The *Catholic Advocate* of June 2, 1849, shows that he had passed through

[25] *Advocate*, February 24, 1849. *Telegraph*, March 1, 1849.

[26] Notre Dame Archives.

[27] *Telegraph*, April 26, 1849.

[28] At the request of this council New York, Cincinnati, and New Orleans were made archbishoprics; the dioceses of Saint Paul, Savannah, and Wheeling were erected; and the vicariates apostolic of New Mexico and the Territory East of the Rocky Mountains were established.

Louisville before it went to press. Soon after he reached Nashville, the city was in the throes of an epidemic of cholera, the ravages of which rent his tender heart as well as gave him a busy summer.[29] Memphis was still more sorely afflicted; for there smallpox combined with cholera to bring gloom to all the town. One of the great sorrows of the bishop's life was the loss, in this double epidemic, of a saintly, useful, and zealous priest in whose formation he had had a part, Father J. H. Clarkson, pastor of Saint Peter's, who died on August 25, 1849. Although a scholarly man, the Friar Preacher clothed his attainments with an admirable humility, just as he expressed choice thoughts in the simplest English. The Memphis *Daily Eagle* of August 29, 1849, says of him:

Rev. Mr. Clarkson was a member of the Order of St. Dominic, but for some time past he had been associated in the pastoral charge of the Catholic Church of this city. He was unwearying in his ministrations, and was greatly beloved by the members of his Church. During the prevalence of the late epidemic, he was constant in attendance upon the poor and suffering. At their bedsides, night and day, he stood to speak the promise of a better world; to minister to the minds and hearts of the diseased the healing and purifying lessons and inspirations of a Christian faith; and, in that spirit of religion which is humanity ennobled by the loftiest convictions of duty and the holiest impulses of love, to apply every remedy, and to perform every ministration, no matter how humble or menial, which suffering might crave to have or charity prompt to offer.

His devoted labors brought on the attack under which he passed from earth, and closed the tasks of the Christian missionary in

29 The *History of the Sisters of Charity of Leavenworth, Kansas* (p. 19) says the epidemic of cholera was in 1848. Miss McGill (*The Sisters of Charity of Nazareth, Kentucky,* p. 115), doubtless following the above book, makes the same statement. But the histories of Nashville and the cathedral records show that it was in 1849.

the glories of the martyr. What his labors may have accomplished we know not; but we do know that the martyr of charity leaves a noble memory in the quiet beauty of a good man's life.

This eulogy is all the more striking because evidently from the hand of the non-Catholic editor of a secular paper; and it thus shows the general esteem, approaching veneration, in which the holy priest was held. Another tribute appeared in the *Catholic Telegraph* of September 13, 1849. Here we read:

The field of his labors up to the time of his coming to Memphis—two years since—were portions of Ohio and Kentucky, where he left a name which will long be cherished and revered. He was of a mild and placid disposition, and possessed good practical sense and a sound judgment. His talents, without being brilliant or showy, were solid and useful. But his leading trait of character was benevolence. He was totally regardless of self when his neighbor's good, either temporal or spiritual, called for his exertion. This he gave cheerfully, and at any cost of personal sacrifice, or of means within his power.

His sickness was occasioned in a great measure by exposure and overexertion. For six months our city had been given up to the ravages of pestilence. The Rev. Father Clarkson was foremost in encountering the destroyer—rescuing the victims when it was possible by medical prescriptions, and, when not, assuaging their pains with his personal attentions and soothing commiseration, and with hope-inspiring words. His death has thrown a gloom over our community. The outburst of grief, spontaneous and general, as well among Protestants as among Catholics, with which the intelligence of his demise was received, was but the natural tribute of the heart to known excellence and worth.

The warning was sudden, and the event followed quick upon the warning. But still there was ample time. When his whole life had been a continual preparation for death, there was little left to be done in those last moments. Fortified with the holy sacraments of religion, and with the benediction of his Order, he met his fate with that confidence and resignation, and with that calmness and composure, which the assurance of a good conscience

and the retrospect of a well-spent life always produce.[30]

The *Telegraph's* tribute is not signed. But the internal evidence of style, thought, and spirit, as well as the external evidence of intimate knowledge and close friendship, suggests that its author was none other than Bishop Miles himself. Quite likely he went to Memphis after his friend's death, and wrote to the Cincinnati paper from there. In any event, true man of God that he was, Father Clarkson could scarcely have asked greater praise from either journal. He was the first priest to die in Memphis. Like many of his successors in the same city, he was a martyr to his zeal and charity.

There is another fact regarding this holy priest which should be put on record, and no longer left to the mercy of tradition. At first, he was buried in the yard which lay at the side and rear of the original church. Some twelve or fifteen years later, when his body was taken up that it might be laid to rest beneath the sanctuary of the new Saint Peter's, it was found to be intact.

[30] Father Clarkson was the son of James Henry and Elizabeth (Worland) Clarkson, was born in Washington County, Kentucky, in 1812, and was educated partly at Saint Mary's College, and partly at Saint Rose's. He received the habit of Saint Dominic at the latter place on August 2, 1829, and made his profession on August 5, 1830. There he made his higher studies. He received the tonsure from Bishop Fenwick in Cincinnati, Sunday, October 16, 1831, and the minor orders two days later. He was ordained priest by Bishop Flaget or Bishop Chabrat in the spring of 1835, his first baptismal record at Saint Rose's bearing the date of May 17 that year. In May, 1837, he was sent to Saint Joseph's, in Ohio, to succeed Bishop Miles as prior, remaining there and on the Ohio missions until the provincial chapter in the fall of 1847, by which he was sent to Memphis. He was a splendid preacher, had a logical mind, and gave much time to the explanation of Catholic doctrine. Some times it has been said that he died of smallpox, and at others that cholera brought on his death. The time of the year and other circumstances indicate that it was due to the latter disease.

God's servant appeared to be asleep rather than dead. His flesh was as pliable and natural as in life.[31]

But here we must retrace our steps a little in order to gather up a few threads of our narrative which are necessary for a proper perspective of the picture. Saintly Father Louis Hoste, the vicar general, had lived in Nashville from the time of his arrival from France, in 1841. One of his cares there had been the few French Catholics of the city. At first, he lived with the bishop. Later he and Father Montgomery seem to have occupied another house, possibly that which still stands at the side of Saint Mary's of the Seven Dolors, and which was the cathedral rectory. After the coming of Father Orengo, Father Schacht became pastor of the cathedral. Father Hoste, doubtless at his own request, went to reside at Saint Michael's, near Turnersville, Robertson County, where he started a school and a male orphan asylum of which we shall speak later.

Father Orengo became an itinerant missionary for central Tennessee, who saw little of his home with the bishop at Nashville. Father Jacquet was sent to Chattanooga, whence he looked after all the eastern part of the state until the arrival of the Rev. Edmund Etschmann, O.S.F., sometime in 1849. This worthy son of Saint Francis was stationed at Wartburg, Morgan County, whose German colony Doctor Miles turned over to the care of the Franciscans. Under the same charge came Kingston, Roane County, and

[31] Fathers John A. Bokel, James V. Edelen, and Sydney A. Clarkson (a younger brother) used often to speak of having witnessed this fact. Several old people of Memphis spoke of it to the writer some years ago. The tradition of it is still strong in that city and in Saint Joseph's Province.

Tellico Plains, Monroe County. Far-off Jonesborough was then attended from Nashville. But like his predecessor, the Rev. William Howard, Father Etschmann received all too scant support, and was recalled by his superiors late in 1850 or early in 1851. During the two years that he labored in the diocese he effected much good, for he was a zealous priest of blameless life.[32]

In the midst of these changes for the advancement of religion, the heart of Tennessee's apostle was gladdened again by the arrival of the Rev. Henry Vincent Brown, a convert priest whom he had himself received into the Church, and sent to Rome for his studies. Father Brown was ordained by the Most Rev. John MacHale, archbishop of Tuam, Ireland, in the chapel of the College of the Propaganda, on Pentecost Sunday, June 11, 1848, and arrived in Nashville late in the year, or early in 1849. It was a happy day for the Church there, for the history of his labors in the state is inseparable from that of the diocese. He was stationed in the episcopal city, but his toils were principally on the missions.[33]

[32] *Catholic Almanac,* 1847, p. 134; 1848, p. 220; 1849, pp. 115-116; 1850, p. 133; 1851, p. 131. The *Almanac* places Father Etschmann at Saint John's, Cincinnati, from 1847 until he went to Tennessee, and again from the time he left the Diocese of Nashville until 1856. From that time to 1862 or 1863 he was at Saint Boniface's, Louisville, Kentucky, whence he seems to have returned to Europe. He died in Austrian Tyrol, May 21, 1890.

[33] Father Brown was born about 1816. His parents were Presbyterians. About 1839, he was engaged as teacher of art at Saint Catherine's Academy, near Springfield, Kentucky. While there, Father Jarboe converted him, but he was baptized by Bishop Miles at Saint Rose's, April 5, 1840. Then he studied at Saint Joseph's College, Bardstown, whence he went to Rome in 1844 or 1845. His first baptism at Nashville is dated February 25, 1849.

Among the nominations made by the council held at Baltimore was that of Father Charles Pius Montgomery, a younger brother of Father Samuel in Nashville, and like him a Friar Preacher. He declined the honor. When Archbishop Eccleston wrote to Bishop Miles to acquaint him of this fact, and to ask for suggestions, the subject of our narrative replied:

Nashville, April 8, 1850.

Most Rev. Archbishop:—

I regret very much to learn from your late favour that Rev. Mr. Montgomery persists in his refusal of the appointment to the See of Monterey, as I know him to be well fitted for that office. With regard to the Rev. Mr. Grace, although a very worthy and efficient clergyman, I think he is too young, and has not been in orders long enough.[34] This is the only objection that could be made against him.

At your request, I will take the liberty to propose the names of Very Rev. Joseph Alemany, O.P., who stands second on the list for Santa Fe, and who is sufficiently known for his piety and learning to render any recommendation on my part unnecessary; and the Rev. James M. Lancaster, whom I have known from his childhood, and whom I heartily recommend as one well worthy of the mitre. I am aware that some objections have been made against Mr. Lancaster; but I have never heard of any that, in my estimation, ought to stand in his way on this occasion. I have never heard the most distant hint against his moral character, and know him to be a good, zealous clergyman, and highly esteemed by the congregation he has had charge of.

Allow me, Most Rev. Archbishop, to thank you for the kindness expressed in your letter, and to hope that my future conduct may deserve a continuation of the same, whilst I remain with senti-

[34] This was Father Grace of Memphis. He had studied and was ordained abroad, returning to this country late in 1844, or in the early days of 1845. The *United States Catholic Miscellany* of August 24, 1850, together with this letter, indicates that his name was the second on the council's list for Monterey.

ments of the highest regard and esteem,

Your most obedient servant,

†Richard Pius Miles,

Bishop of Nashville.[35]

When the Holy See raised Saint Louis to the rank of an archbishopric, July 20, 1847, it was decided to defer the appointment of its suffragan dioceses until the American hierarchy should make known their wish in the matter at the next provincial council to he held at Baltimore. Although, doubtless because of long-standing associations, Bishop Miles would have preferred that Nashville should be associated with the Province of Cincinnati for the establishment of which the council petitioned, he was too humble a man to oppose the wishes of the conciliar fathers. Accordingly, by a letter of the Propaganda dated August 9, 1850, Tennessee was severed from Baltimore, and annexed to Saint Louis.[36]

[35] Baltimore Archives, Case 25, M 8. Father Alemany, S. T. Lr., was born in Vich, Spain, July 13, 1814. He entered the Order of Saint Dominic in his native country when fifteen years of age; but on the suppression of the religious orders in Spain (1835), he went to Viterbo, Italy, where he was raised to the priesthood on March 27, 1837, and obtained the degree of Lector of Theology in 1840. Shortly afterwards, he came to Ohio. In 1842, he was sent to Nashville, and to Memphis in 1845, in both of which places he left a sacred memory. In 1847, he was made master of novices in Kentucky, and became provincial in 1849. While in Rome, he was appointed bishop of Monterey (May 31, 1850), and was consecrated there, June 30, 1850. On the erection of the Archdiocese of San Francisco, he became its metropolitan (July 29, 1853). He resigned in December, 1884, returned to Spain, and died at Valencia, April 14, 1888. He was one of our most saintly and best beloved prelates.

[36] Hernaez, *Coleccion de Bulas, Breves, etc.*, II, 787-788; *Concilia Baltimori*, pp. 281, 287-289. These documents show the error of Shea who writes (*History of the Church*, IV, 36): "When the authorities in Rome at last recognized the consequences of their action, Pope Pius IX., on the 8th day of October, 1847, made St. Louis a metropolitan see, with Dubuque, Nashville, Chicago, and Milwaukee as suffragans." Doctor Shea had a decided Gallican tendency, and overlooked few opportunities of

Three other acts of the Holy See in agreement with the requests of the seventh provincial council of Baltimore were the erection of the Diocese of Wheeling, the transfer thither of Bishop Richard V. Whelan, and the appointment of the Rev. John McGill of Kentucky as his successor at Richmond. The new appointee was a close friend and admirer of the Father of the Church in Tennessee. When therefore Father McGill was consecrated bishop of Richmond by the metropolitan of Saint Louis, Doctors Miles and St. Palais acted as assistants. The event took place in Saint Joseph's Church, Bardstown, the former cathedral, November 10, 1850. Bishop Spalding delivered an eloquent sermon.[37] It is noteworthy that this was the last episcopal consecration in that historic edifice, as well as one of the most striking ceremonies that ever occurred there.

With the exception of that of the Right Rev. Amadeus Rappe of Cleveland which took place in Cincinnati, October 10, 1847, and at which only Bishops Purcell and Whelan were present, the subject of our narrative had not only attended, but also participated in, every episcopal consecration in the near west from the time of his elevation to the hierarchy, twelve years before. His big heart and broad mind urged him to undergo every sacrifice that he might gratify his equals. Previous engagements and the Nashville cathedral, which was nearing dedication, rendered it next to impossible for him to be at Bishop Rappe's consecration; yet, had he known that so few would

censuring Rome, even when there was clear evidence of a desire to please our hierarchy.

[37] *Telegraph,* November 30, 1850.

attend it, one can not doubt that he would have found a way of gracing the occasion with his ever welcomed presence.

Ill health combined with much that called for his attention at home to keep him from the consecration of Bishop John B. Lamy as vicar apostolic of Santa Fe, in Cincinnati, November 24, 1850. The holy prelate had spent nearly the whole year in travel, on horseback and otherwise, through his diocese, which sapped his strength even to the point of danger. Worry and extra toil caused by another outbreak of cholera in the early summer contributed to the same effect. From Bishop McGill's consecration he returned to Nashville a sick man. In a letter of date December 27, 1850, Father H. V. Brown tells Mark Frenaye of Philadelphia:

> At the request of Bishop Miles I write to inform you that he duly received the certificate of Bank deposit for $103.02 forwarded to him by you. Our venerable Bishop has been seriously indisposed for some three weeks. He is now a little better, but cannot yet sit up, and requires constant attention day and night. His physician does not name his complaint, but he has a violent cough, frequent fever and swollen limbs.[38]

Although the progress of the period was slow, on the whole it was steady and solid. Those acquainted with the conditions regarded it as nothing short of extraordinary. Indeed, they marvelled not that the zealous prelate failed to effect more, but that he was able to accomplish so much.

[38] *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society,* March, 1903 (XIV, 113).

CHAPTER XIX

FAIRER GROWTH

The union of the *Catholic Advocate* with the *Catholic Telegraph,* in the latter half of 1849, was unfortunate for the history of the Diocese of Nashville. It practically took away from Bishop Miles the paper which he had in a large measure used as his official organ. Between the clergy of Ohio and the clergy of Tennessee naturally there was not that community of spirit, general acquaintance, or warmth of friendship which existed between the priests of Kentucky and the priests of Tennessee. The student can not but notice that, immediately after this change, communications on the affairs of the Diocese of Nashville became much more meager, as well as far less frequent, than they had been before.

Possibly the columns of the *Telegraph* were not so open for news items from the struggling little see which lay farther to the south as had been those of the *Advocate,* which was more in sympathy with its hardships from the fact that it had been taken from Bardstown, and was a closer neighbor. However this may be, distance from Cincinnati and Nashville's connection with Saint Louis, one can but believe, certainly had their part in this unfortunate circumstance. The matter is aggravated still more in that Archbishop P. R. Kenrick preserved practically no records. Happily, however, a few documents have survived the

ravages of time and neglect which, especially when taken in connection with those already laid before the reader, afford a fair idea of the life and labors of Tennessee's first chief pastor during the last decade of his government.

We left the apostolic man, at the close of the last chapter, in another serious spell of sickness brought on by unremitting labor and exposure. Although he possessed a splendid vitality and power of recuperation, his strength had been so overtaxed that the recovery was slow. Weakness rendered it impossible for him to attend the consecration of Father John B. Miége, S. J., as vicar apostolic of Kansas and the Indian Territory, on March 25, 1851. However, that year opened with an event which must have brought no little joy to our apostle's fatherly heart. He had long desired, even sought, to obtain for his diocese the services of the Dominican Sisters whom he had helped to establish. These were then under the jurisdiction of the Dominican provincial. When, therefore, Father M. A. O'Brien, the first priest whom he had ordained, was elected to that position, October 30, 1850, Bishop Miles at once renewed his efforts to this end; for he felt that a zealous friend for whom he had done so much would leave nothing untried in order to grant his petition.[1]

It happened as he had prayed. Indeed, pursuant to his swift way of doing things, Father O'Brien sent the sisters before preparations were made for their reception. Doubtless it was as much to divide the honor of initiating the work between the two little communities, as to spare either the entire burden, that the

[1] An *American Apostle*, pp. 39, 54, and *passim*.

provincial selected three members of Saint Catherine's, Springfield, Kentucky, and an equal number from Saint Mary's, Somerset, Ohio. Those from Kentucky were Sisters Lucy Harper, Ann Simpson, and Vincentia Fitzpatrick; those from Ohio, Sisters Emily Thorpe, Magdalen Clark, and Catherine McCormack.

This little band of workers, escorted by Father Francis Cubero, travelled down the Ohio and the Mississippi from Louisville to Memphis, where they arrived between one and two o'clock on the morning of January 1, 1851. As they had to leave the boat, Father Cubero took them directly to Saint Peter's. Father Grace had just retired after a late sick-call; but he arose at once to welcome them. Having no place in which he could put them to sleep, he entertained them in the parlor the rest of the night, and after mass and breakfast took them to a Mrs. McKeon's, who showed them every hospitality for about two weeks, or until they could be settled in their new home.[2]

Prior to the arrival of the sisters, Father Grace had purchased what was then known as the "Coe Place" from its former owner and occupant, the Hon. L. H. Coe. The house, a neat frame structure two stories high, had eight small rooms, besides the garret, stood somewhat beyond the city limits, and was pleasantly situated back from the highway in a large yard of primeval forest trees. There early in February, 1851, began the school which soon developed into the present widely-known Saint Agnes' Academy. At first, the garret was used for a chapel. But in the following year, when the bishop and Father Grace entrusted the

2 This lady was probably the wife of Patrick or William McKeon, two of Memphis' earliest Catholics.

Catholic orphans of Memphis to the sisters, a new building was added, in which a room on the second story was set apart for an oratory. Indeed, the growth of this school was so rapid that by 1855 it became necessary to send the orphans to a place which Father Grace had purchased, about five miles outside the city, with the intention of starting a college for boys. It was long known as "Gracewood Farm;" and here the orphans remained until after Bishop Miles' death.[3]

Unfortunately, the affairs of Saint Mary's Academy at Nashville took a less happy turn at this juncture. After his appointment as pastor of the cathedral, Father Ivo Schacht, or "Scatt" as he was universally called, was given too much authority by good Bishop Miles. Father Schacht was a capable man, an extraordinary linguist, and a zealous, hard-working priest. These qualities, there can be no doubt, won for him the unreserved confidence of his ordinary, who had not yet learned that his one failing was an inflexible determination to have his own way, regardless of costs. In addition to the pastorship of the cathedral, he was placed in charge of the school, and appointed spiritual director of the sisters. Trouble was not slow to follow.

Among the causes of the misunderstanding are said

[3] Saint Agnes' Annals (Mss.); MINOGUE, *Pages from a Hundred Years of Dominican History*, pp. 84 ff. Gracewood Farm contained one hundred and ten acres, and was bought from John Park and Andrew Henderson in 1854 for a college which Bishop Miles wished the fathers to start near Memphis. But they were unable to begin the work before the Civil War. Father William D. O'Carroll, who became provincial in 1865, sold the property.

Sister Catherine McCormack died at Saint Agnes', August 8, 1851, being the first nun to die in Tennessee. Sisters Monica Conlan, Vincent Nicolas, and Mary Pius Fitzpatrick were added to the staff of the school in 1852.

to have been a too frequent change of teachers and a desire that the sisters should sing in the cathedral choir.[4] Possibly this is in part true, although documents laid before the reader indicate that there was little difficulty in finding at Nashville those who were ever ready to supply this latter need for church services.

Another reason given for the friction is the wish of Bishop Miles to have a purely diocesan community free from outside authority.[5] There may also be some truth in this statement, especially in the after-development of affairs; for the Sisters of Mercy, founded along these lines, seem to have engendered in the minds of more than one bishop a disposition to establish such bodies of religious women. Archbishop Hughes had already started one with some of the Sisters of Charity of Emmitsburg who were in the Diocese of New York, while Archbishop Purcell was taking a similar step for Cincinnati.

Whatever the origin of the differences, Father Schacht's hand is clearly visible behind the project which all too soon took effect in Nashville. Doubtless the conception was entirely his, and he took advantage of the bishop's illness that he might bring his plan to execution. Evidently also some of the sisters readily espoused his cause. Bishop Miles' well-known character and spirit of charity and thoughtfulness for others—apart from his religious training, principles, and experience—, it seems almost needless to say, would have made him the last person in the world to think of dividing a community for his own sake, had not the

[4] *History of the Sisters of Charity of Leavenworth, Kansas,* pp. 22 ff; McGill, *The Sisters of Charity of Nazareth, Kentucky,* p. 116.

[5] *Ibid.*

strongest influence been brought to bear upon him while in a state of prolonged infirmity in which he largely depended upon the zeal and judgment of Father Schacht. Some others seem to have also urged Father Schacht's idea.

Mother Catherine Spalding of Nazareth finally went to see the bishop about the difficulty. That two persons of such equipoise could not come to an agreement is proof that matters had then arrived at a pass in which the best, if not the only reasonable, solution of the trouble lay in the withdrawal of some of the sisters at Nashville from the mother-house, and the establishment of a distinct and independent community. This was determined upon at the time; for six members of Saint Mary's Academy and Saint John's Hospital and Orphan Asylum, apparently under the leadership of Father Schacht and Sister Xavier Ross, had openly pronounced themselves in favor of such a step.[6] In the first part of a letter to Bishop Spalding, when the plan had matured, Father Schacht rather hides behind his ecclesiastical superior; but towards the end he discloses clearly enough who had brought it about. Here he writes:

Nashville, June 9th, 1851.

Right Rev. and dear Friend:—

Nothing would give us more pleasure than to welcome your Lordship to Nashville on your return from the Springs. Boats are coming up from Smithland nearly every day. Besides, the digression would amount to nothing as to time. So, Right Rev. Friend, permit me to hope you will favour us thus far. The Bishop desires that the house of Nazareth would be kind enough to furnish him with five or six Sisters to commence a Novitiate with of our own. Our peculiar position, the good of Religion, and

6 *Sisters of Leavenworth* as in note 4, p. 23.

many other circumstances render this an imperative duty on our part. I consider a refusal almost certain, because I could not take any other but such as I would name myself. Moreover, *the thing is to be done.*[7] I want to do things amicably, and find myself without such counsel as I need. Mother Frances most pressingly invites you too. And all will feel under lasting obligations to you, Right Rev. Friend.

In anxious expectation, Yours in Christ.

I. Schacht.[8]

Whether Bishop Spalding went to Nashville on this invitation we did not discover. Be that as it may, Father Schacht wrote to him again on November 5, 1851, a letter which shows how keenly he felt the accusations made against him for his actions in the matter, as well as abounds in countercharges. The document is too violent for publication. Suffice it to say that, we are convinced, his charges are grossly exaggerated, and that the letter is almost proof positive that the scheme of separation originated with him, and that Sister Xavier Ross took a leading part in bringing it to pass.[9]

[7] The italics are Father Schacht's.

[8] Louisville Archives (photostat copy in those of Saint Joseph's Province). Mother Frances Gardiner, referred to in the letter, did not join in Father Schacht's plan, after all.

[9] *Ibid.* (photostat copy, *ibid.*). One of the accusations against which Father Schacht is particularly anxious to defend himself in this letter is that he had acted as Mother Xavier's adviser in all that she had done. However, the facts that she was superior from 1847 to 1850; that in 1850 she was superseded by Mother Frances Gardiner; that the break came in 1851; that Mother Xavier immediately became the superior of the new community, and held the office as long as it remained in Nashville; that it looked on Father Schacht as its chief guardian friend; that it regarded Bishop Miles as in his right when he consented to the separation from Nazareth, but in the wrong when he took action against Father Schacht; and that it broke with the Bishop when Father Schacht broke with him—all this leaves more than a suspicion in the mind that Father Schacht sadly deceived himself when he wrote this letter. See the *Catholic Almanacs* from 1848 to 1858, and *History of the Sisters of Leavenworth* and McGill, *op. cit.*, as in note 4.

Doubtless, as in all similar difficulties, there were mistakes on both sides. The error of Bishop Miles, we may take it for granted, was one of judgment, and not of the heart. It is one of the very few which we may lay at the holy prelate's door. Quite probably, before it reached his ears, the business had progressed so far that, while those who favored a division of the community could no longer be happy at Nazareth, the only way in which he could save his school was to accede to their desire, and he made what he believed to be the wisest choice under the circumstances. Possibly again it was to make amends for whatever wrong he feared might have been committed against the Kentucky institution that (September 15, 1851) he deeded to its ecclesiastical superior, Father Joseph Hazeltine, a splendid piece of land, together with the buildings on it, which he had purchased at a bargain five years earlier, and which had since been used for educational purposes[10].

The sisters who abided by the decision of their mother-house returned to Kentucky after the school year of 1850-1851. Those who remained at Nashville were Sisters Xavier Ross, Mary Vincent Kearney, Joanna Brunner, Ellen Davis, Jane Frances Kennedy, and Baptista Kelly. At first, as the academy property had been turned over to Father Hazeltine, they all lived in the cottage near the hospital, 63 North High Street, where they were soon joined by two recruits from

[10] Deed Book XV, pp. 81-82 (Recorder's Office, Nashville). Deed Book IX, pp. 288-289, shows that Bishop Miles bought this property at a public auction, September 26, 1843, and received the deed for it, when he had finished paying the purchase money, on October 26, 1846. Deed Book IX, pp. 432-433, shows that he also deeded property to Father Hazeltine, February 22, 1847. In each case one dollar was the consideration paid by Hazeltine.

Nazareth who had probably been in Nashville before—Sisters Pauline Gibson and Dorothy Villeneuve[11].

However, it was not long before the large, beautiful home of Doctor William A. Cheatham, which stood at 42-44 Cedar Street, opposite the cathedral, was secured for the teaching sisters and converted into a convent under the name of Saint Vincent's Home. Here also were Saint Mary's Academy continued and the orphans transferred, as well as a novitiate opened. The hospital remained at 63 North High Street, while a free school for the poor and such as chose it for the education of their children was taught in the spacious basement of the cathedral[12]. Indeed, the new community prospered marvellously for a time. Doubtless it would have rendered the diocese lasting services, had not Father Schacht's unruly spirit and ugly temper intervened. But of this we shall speak in a later chapter.

Bishop Miles' kindness of heart, no less than his charity, uniformly prevented him from cherishing ill will towards any one. So it happened in the case of the misunderstanding just recorded. We sought in vain for a hard or harsh word from him in regard to that matter. Contrariwise, we discovered from various sources manifestations of sincere friendship, high esteem, and good wishes for Nazareth. Similarly the apostolic man was not one who would stop to cry over spilt milk. Keenly sensitive though he was for the good of religion, naught seemed to ruffle the even tenor of his

11 Authorities as in note 4 and the *Almanacs* from 1852 to 1858. The only other Sisters up to this time whose names we have discovered were Sister Serena Carney (superior 1845-1847), Sister Frances Gardiner (superior 1850-1851), and Sister Margaret Bamber (superior at the hospital 1849-1851). None of these three joined the new community.

12 *Sisters of Leavenworth,* pp. 22 ff; *Almanacs,* 1852-1858; *Nashville Directory,* 1853-1854, 1855-1856, 1857.

ways, for the consciousness that he did his best, chose what he believed to be right, and sought to avoid that which he feared might be wrong, enabled him to possess his soul in peace.

Another incident, of slight importance in itself, but which is said to have caused the subject of our narrative considerable pain, seems to have grown out of the establishment of the new community in Nashville. In the life of his predecessor, which he was compiling just at this juncture, Bishop Spalding states that Father Raphael Muños was sent to Saint Rose's, in Kentucky, as prior of the convent that he might restore the discipline which had become somewhat relaxed through the exigencies of missionary life. Tradition tells us that the distinguished divine wrote this through pique; and that Bishop Miles was not a little chagrined by the assertion of his friend. Nor is the reason far to seek in either case. It was only natural that Doctor Spalding should be nettled by the split in a religious body under his jurisdiction, for which he felt that the Father of the Church in Tennessee was partly responsible; whilst the latter could hardly be expected not to resent the imputation that he had needed to be reformed by one who had been so harsh to him as Father Muños[13].

However, as his letters show, Bishop Miles did not permit this incidental unpleasantness to mar a friendship which had been long, intimate, and trusting. Indeed, the relations between the two prelates were soon

[13] *Life of Flaget,* p. 288; *Fenwick,* p. 142. In *Fenwick* is shown Father Maes' fantastic use of Doctor Spalding's statement. Possibly it was this spleen which occasioned Bishop Spalding's failure to mention the labors of the Dominicans in Kentucky during the epidemic of cholera in 1833—for which see his *Life of Flaget,* pp. 275 ff, and note 12 in Chapter XI of this book.

as near and amicable as ever. Despite his zeal, the debility induced by the severe spell of sickness seems to have rendered the year 1851 the least active since the holy man's elevation to the miter. Still he kept in close touch with the affairs of his diocese, which he strove to advance in every way. Early in the fall he made a journey to Ohio, and officiated at the cathedral in Cincinnati[14]. Quite probably his ever-present financial straits, which had become still more tightened by the loss of the academy property, carried him there, for he often sought to borrow money in that city.

The summons for our first plenary council to assemble at Baltimore by May 8, 1852, found the man of God busy at his work. This was before the close of the previous year[15]. Because of the slow travel at that time a number of bishops in the west arranged to make a part of the journey together, which would insure them a pleasant companionship, no less than afford them an opportunity of discussing the needs of the American Church before the council should meet. Bishop Spalding invited the subject of our narrative to join them at Louisville, and received in response a letter dated March 30, 1852, in which the chief pastor of Tennessee tells him:

"I am happy to acknowledge your late kind favour, and will do myself the pleasure of accepting your invitation to join you and the other distinguished characters that are to form our company to Baltimore. I propose to leave home as soon as possible after the second Sunday after Easter—by water, if we have enough, or

14 *Telegraph,* September 20, 1851.

15 The *Acta et Decreta* of this council show that Archbishop F. P. Kenrick sent out the letter of convocation on November 21, 1851.

by stage, as the case may be[16]." Then he makes a few good-natured references to the talk in Kentucky about the Saint Mary's Academy affair, and closes his letter with the statement: "Every thing is going on well here, except money matters which are rather slim as far as I am concerned. Many compliments, and all sorts of blessings." The *Catholic Telegraph* of Saturday, May 8, 1852, shows that the hierarchical company passed through Cincinnati that week, which gave them barely time to reach Baltimore for the opening of the council.

At this assemblage our zealous prelate had another convincing proof of the growth of the Church in his beloved country in the reports brought from every direction, and in the petition of the fathers of the council for the establishment of no less than nine new sees and one vicariate apostolic. His cup of joy would have been filled, could he have given a more roseate account of the increase of Catholicity in his own charge. Doubtless the request for the erection of the Archdiocese of San Francisco and the nomination of his friend and former colaborer in Tennessee, Bishop Alemany, for its metropolitan afforded him a special pleasure. From Baltimore he journeyed to New York City, where he dedicated Saint Ann's Church, June 1, 1852, in the presence of Archbishop Hughes and the bishops of Boston, Pittsburgh, and Louisville.[17]

On his way back to Nashville, he stopped at his former missionary fields of Saint Joseph's, Somerset, and

16 Louisville Archives. The second Sunday after Easter fell on April 25 in that year.

17 *Acta et Decreta Concilii Plenarii....., Baltimori habiti Anno* 1852; *Freeman's Journal,* June 5, 1852; Memoranda of the Diocese of Boston (Mss.), June 1, 1852; GOULDING, *The Churches in New York City,* p. 150.

Zanesville, Ohio, in all of which he administered confirmation, and delivered to the candidates some of those simple, beautiful, and instructive sermons in which he was an adept. At Saint Joseph's the ambassador of Christ had the satisfaction of finding the new college in full operation. It was the first time he had seen it, and the thought that his former ambition had at last been realized gave him unbounded joy. The account of his welcomed visit says: "The Right Rev. Prelate, though declining in years and somewhat worn by arduous labors, is still in the possession of much vigor, and during his stay with us was in the enjoyment of excellent health."[18]

Strange to say, although it had been the first place in the state to loom promisingly from a Catholic point of view, and had no doubt been visited more than once by a priest since the establishment of the diocese, we have found the name of Knoxville in but one document (the *Almanac* of 1854) referring to the Church from the days of Father Badin more than forty years past. Evidently the faith there had all but died; yet it was soon to be resurrected. In fact, the *Freeman's Journal* of May 26, 1860, reproduces a contribution to the Louisville *Guardian,* which tells of the promise at this later time, and says: "Six or eight years ago, not one resident Catholic was known to be in Knoxville."

Chattanooga, thanks to public works of various kinds, had now begun to attract a goodly number, which was a source of no little joy to the zealous bishop. Before his departure for Baltimore, he had sent Father Brown to that city in order to build a church and leave Father

[18] *Telegraph,* June 26 and July 3, 1852.

Jacquet freer for work among the laborers on the railroads and in the parts farther towards the east. These places seem to have demanded our apostle's attention immediately on his return from the council. Apparently he was at or around Chattanooga when Bishop Spalding wrote to request his presence at the consecration of the cathedral in Louisville, which had been set for October 3, 1852. He answered from Nashville, the seventh of September:

I have delayed some time to acknowledge your late kind favour in which you invite me to be present at the consecration of your new Cathedral, an invitation quite agreeable to my feelings. At the time I received your letter Mr. Montgomery was quite ill of a fever, and for some time his case was considered dangerous. He is now happily recovered, so that, without some accident not anticipated, I shall enjoy your pleasant society and the solemn ceremony that is to come off on Rosary Sunday.

You have laid me under one restriction that will go very hard with me. You say in your letter: "Of course you will *fail* to exhibit to us the light of your countenance on that auspicious day." This will be a hard task for me, and I hope you will at least allow me a small grin from time to time. Otherwise there would be danger of an explosion, for the consequences of which you will be held responsible.

Rev. Mr. Brown was present when I read your letter. When I announced your invitation to him, he made his best bow, and expressed his great regret that he could not come. He is preparing to build a church in Chattanooga, and is entirely absorbed in his grand undertaking. I propose to leave home on next Sunday; and after spending a few days with my pets about St. Rose's, I will come to Louisville, and endeavour to make my retreat before the dedication. You know you promised to join me. If this arrangement doesn't suit, please let me know. A letter directed to St. Catherine's, near Springfield, any time next week will find me there.

Bishop Reynolds has promised to visit me this fall. Of course he will be at the consecration, and I shall expect him to accompany

me home. . . . .May every happiness and blessing be yours.
I am most faithfully your devoted friend,
† Richard Pius Miles,
Bishop of Nashville.[19]

The consecration of the cathedral took place on the day prescribed, and has come down in history as one of the great Catholic events of Louisville. Two metropolitans and eight bishops from all parts of the country graced the occasion with their presence. Bishop Miles, there can be no doubt, put his very soul into the signature which he affixed to the signed set of resolutions sent by this august assemblage to Father John Henry (afterwards Cardinal) Newman approving his exposé of the apostate priest, Giovanni Achilli, who had written and spoken so villainously of the Church. While most tolerant of inculpable error and compassionate towards the sinner, a true man of God that he was, our bishop had little mercy for such reprobate characters as Achilli, who he felt deserved only contempt.[20]

Through his ceaseless efforts, in spite of obstacles of every sort, religion made continual, though slow, progress. In the *Catholic Almanac* for 1853 he reported six churches, two chapels, twenty stations, and five thousand faithful served by himself and nine priests. Four of the missionaries (Louis Hoste, John M. Jacquet, Ivo Schacht, and H. V. Brown) were secular clergymen. The other five belonged to the Order of Saint Dominic—Fathers S. L. Montgomery, Thomas

19 Louisville Archives.

20 *Telegraph,* October 9, 1852; Spalding (J. L.), *Life of Archbishop M. J. Spalding,* p. 148. It is noteworthy that the first Newman fund in the United States was opened by the bishops at this meeting for the purpose of helping the distinguished English divine to defray the expenses of the suit for libel brought against him by the infamous Achilli.

L. Grace, Aloysius Orengo, John Raymond Cleary, and John Albert Bokel.[21]

Five of the six churches were certainly those of Nashville, Memphis, Robertson County, Clarksville, and Humphreys County, all of which have been mentioned more than once. The sixth was likely the log fane which Father Schacht built on the Rogan farm about the end of 1844, and which appears to have been known later as the "Immaculate Conception, Gallatin Tunnel." Father Lorigan, in his article for the *Catholic Encyclopedia,* tells us that a church (Saint Mary's) was erected at Jackson in 1849. Quite likely this is true, for such a project had been long in contemplation; but as the *Almanac* never speaks of a church there, we are inclined to think that this small temple of prayer was one of the two designated as chapels in the bishop's report. The other was probably the small wooden affair which either Father Jacquet or Father Brown had built on a lot of Michael Harrington in Chattanooga, and which Father Lorigan says was put up in 1852. Possibly Father Brown wished to have it known as a chapel because he had already begun preparations for a large and beautiful Gothic stone church.[22]

The twenty stations in the diocese were scattered here and there from the boundaries of Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia to that of Kentucky; and from Jonesborough in the extreme east to the banks of the great Father of Waters.

One of the holy man's greatest difficulties still continued to be that of procuring a sufficient number of priests for the proper care of his widely dispersed flock,

21 *Almanac,* 1853, pp. 122-123.
22 *Catholic Encyclopedia,* X, 705; *Freeman's Journal,* May 28, 1854.

and means for a suitable sustenance of the missionaries who had come to his aid. However he managed to maintain his works of charity and his free schools is almost a mystery. When, October 23, 1852, the prefect of the Propaganda urged that our American hierarchy should agree upon some general plan for an ecclesiastical living which might be enacted into law, Archbishops Purcell and R. P. Kendrick wrote for our prelate's views on the subject.[23] To Doctor Purcell he replied, March 30, 1853:

You ask me what I think of the decree of Rome. In my reply to the Archbishop of St. Louis asking my opinion on the same subject, I told him I did not think I had a right to give any opinion, as I was entirely out of the scrape; that I received no assistance from any church in my Diocese except from my Cathedral, and from this only two or three hundred dollars; and that, had it not been for the small pittance I receive annually from the Propagation of the Faith, together with a legacy from a deceased brother, I should have starved long since.[24]

Thank God, my condition is somewhat better now. I am out of debt. Rev. Mr. Schacht has returned from Europe, having procured sufficient means to satisfy all demands against my church. Some *good friend,* God forgive him, had so shamefully misrepresented my condition to the Propagation of the Faith that they had for several years put me off with a mere trifle. Mr. Schacht succeeded in disabusing them of their error, and they have sent me francs 18,000, which, together with what he collected in his own country, has made me again even with the world. But my purse is in a perfect and frightful state of collapse in consequence. *N'importe.*[25]

[23] *Acta et Decreta Concilii Plenarii....., Baltimori habiti Anno 1852,* p. 61. This was before the establishment of our present *cathedraticum.*

[24] This brother was Edward B. Miles who died at Bloomfield, Kentucky, February 4, 1846.

[25] Notre Dame Archives. Father Schacht had been in Belgium on a vacation. Beginning with 1847, Bishop Miles' allotments from the Propagation of the Faith had been cut to about one fourth, or less, of what

The Father of the Church in Tennessee was now in his sixties. Hardships, age, and labors had so told on his strength that he could no longer spend days or even weeks in the saddle at a stretch. The weight of a large physical frame and not infrequent periods of ill health also interfered with his journeys. Yet he continued to visit his diocese as often as he possibly could, making his way into every nook and corner that no Catholic family or individual might be overlooked. When it was feasible, he went by train; but there were then few places in the state which could be reached in this wise. Often, in order to conserve his energy, he took the unpalatable stage-coach even for short distances. For the same reason, when going to the missions in the farther west, he ordinarily travelled by the long, circuitous route of the boat on the Cumberland, Ohio, and Mississippi rivers.

Similarly, an ambassador of Christ in the fullest sense of the word, our apostle directed the work of his undershepherds, no less than watched over his flock, with scrutinous eye and unflagging zeal. Still he pointed out the way for all with a fatherly kindliness which won the hearts alike of priests and people. Non-Catholics continued to vie with those of his own fold in their love and esteem for him. Not many years ago, one used frequently to hear it said in Nashville that, "had it not been for his religion, Bishop Miles could have held the city in the palm of his right hand." Although not so well known elsewhere, he was scarcely less beloved in the rest of his diocese.

From the beginning, Tennessee's first chief pastor

was their average the first six years of his episcopacy. Doubtless, however, one of the causes of the reduction was the ever-increasing number of calls on the society for assistance.

rarely left the state except on business of importance, or to oblige his confrères in the hierarchy. The occasional visits to his earlier fields of labor, which he thoroughly enjoyed, were nearly all made either on his way from home for other purposes, or on the return journey. We have found no record of an absence in 1853, and of but one in 1854, from which it appears that he was out of his diocese only once in those two years. This was for the consecration of the Right Rev. Anthony O'Regan as bishop of Chicago at Saint Louis, July 25, 1854; but he was so unwell that he could not attend the august ceremony.[26]

Catholicity's growth in Chattanooga demanded his attention, no less than delighted his paternal heart. Doubtless it was while on a journey thither that he administered confirmation on Low Sunday, April 23, 1854, for Father Jacquet who then labored among the men working on the railroads and in the coal mines south of Nashville. Knoxville had also returned to its own, in spite of prejudice, not only so far as to deserve a mention in the *Catholic Almanac* for the first time in 1854, but also to be in a fair way of having a church. This also, there can be no doubt, was a source of joy as well as of care to the holy bishop. There, too, labor in the construction of railroads brought the change.[27]

However, Doctor Shea seems certainly in error when he writes: "Rev. H. F. Parke, of Wytheville, found many of his flock drifting into Tennessee in search of better wages. He followed them in his visits and reported to the Bishop at Nashville, who, in time, stationed a

[26] The *Telegraph*, August 12, 1854.

[27] Cathedral records at Nashville; *Telegraph*, August 12, 1854; *Almanac*, 1854, p. 175.

priest at Knoxville." The most diligent search failed to reveal any record, or even a tradition, in support of this statement. Father Parke did not go to Wytheville until the end of 1852. Neither in the outline of his own life, which is given on page sixteen of his *"Some Notes on the Rise and Spread of the Catholic Missions in Virginia,"* nor anywhere in the pamphlet does he so much as mention Tennessee. The only reference we have found to his presence in the state regards a visit, in 1860, to the Aikens at Jonesborough, some years after Knoxville had its church and resident pastor.[28]

Baptismal registers, the *Catholic Almanac,* and other sources show that Father Brown, stationed at Chattanooga, had charge of Knoxville and other places in eastern Tennessee. Before the close of 1854, we find him proposed as worthy of the miter. Although our apostle would suffer any sacrifice in order that a subject of his might be so honored, if he felt that he would make a good bishop, he maintained that no priest should be placed in so responsible a position until he had been well tried by experience and proved himself to be a man of prudence and judgment, as well as possessed of zeal and ability. Accordingly, as he had done in the case of Father Grace, he wrote to Archbishop Francis P. Kenrick on this subject:

Nashville, November 3, 1854.

Monseigneur:

I have just received a letter from Bishop Reynolds stating that he had put the name of Rev. H. V. Brown on the list for Bishop of

[28] Shea, *History of the Church,* IV, 437; Father John F. Aiken, Georgetown, October 31, 1860, to one of his brothers, Jonesborough (Nashville Archives). The Aikens certainly kept Bishop Miles informed on matters Catholic in those parts of eastern Tennessee. The bishop was dead at the time of this visit of Father Parke.

Savannah; and he requests me to write Your Grace on the subject. In doing so I beg leave to say that I do not consider Mr. Brown as qualified for that office as yet, although he is zealous and fulfills his duties very well on the missions. He needs more experience. Moreover, he is a neophyte. *Non neophytum, ne in superbiam elatus* [It behoveth a bishop, says Saint Paul, to be no neophyte, lest he be puffed up with pride].[29]

Be kind enough to obtain a blessing for me from His Holiness, and allow me to wish you a safe return to your Diocese.

I am, Monseigneur, with great esteem and respect, your most obedient servant,

† Richard Pius Miles,
Bishop of Nashville.[30]

Little by little the foundations of the diocese had been deepened, strengthened, and rendered secure. Although no rapid increase in the number of the faithful could be anticipated for years yet to come, there could be no doubt that, in spite of difficulties, the Catholic religion had at last been placed on a firm basis in Tennessee. In the early summer of 1855 business affairs called Bishop Miles to Ohio. While there, he accepted an invitation to preside and distribute the premiums at the closing exercises of Saint Joseph's College and Saint Mary's Academy, Somerset, in the first week of July. On the same occasion, he administered confirmation at Saint Joseph's and in the town.[31]

Know-nothingism, the reader will recall, was then rampant throughout the country. Accordingly, the *Telegraph* of July 21 informs us, in his sermon to those confirmed, the bishop "told them how happy it made him to see them offering themselves to God as His sol-

[29] This reference is to I Timothy, III, 1-6.
[30] Baltimore Archives, Case 30, Q 2.
[31] *Telegraph,* July 14 and July 21, 1855.

diers. He exhorted them to remain firm to the step they had taken, and to mind not the sneers and menaces of that contemptible organization which foolishly is seeking to destroy that holy institution against which even the gates of hell cannot prevail."

Two other journeys in the same year are noted in the records of the day, and deserve mention in our work. One of them was to Kentucky. Father M. A. O'Brien first invited Bishop Spalding to dedicate the beautiful stone Gothic Saint Rose's which he had built near Springfield. But Doctor Spalding had other engagements—or perhaps he felt that Bishop Miles should perform this ceremony at a place in which he had lived so long, and loved so well. Be this as it may, the latter's services were now solicited; and on Saint Dominic's Day, August 4, 1855, he blessed the new church with all the solemnities of the ritual. For many years the event formed a frequent topic of conversation among the people of the parish.[32]

Meanwhile, a summons had been sent out to the suffragans of Saint Louis for the first provincial council, which opened in that city on October seventh. It was a notable assemblage, and enacted some important legislation for the government of the western Church. Besides the Most Rev. R. P. Kenrick, those who took part in it were Bishops Loras, Miles, Henni, Cretin, and O'Regan. Bishop John B. Miége, vicar apostolic of Kansas and Indian Territory, was absent, while the Diocese of Quincy, Illinois, had no spiritual head.[33]

32 *Telegraph,* September 8, 1855; *An American Apostle,* pp. 161 ff.

33 *Telegraph,* October 13, 20 and 27, 1855; the *Metropolitan* for November, 1855. The Diocese of Quincy, Illinois, was established in 1853; but no bishop was ever appointed for it. In 1857 it was transferred to Alton, of which Father Henry D. Juncker became the first ordinary.

For a year after the death of Father Clarkson, Father Grace, who then became pastor at Saint Peter's, was left practically alone in west Tennessee. However, the records show that he occasionally procured the assistance of a German priest, neither of the diocese nor of his Order, for those of that nationality. A confrère, Father James V. Daly, aided him for a short time towards the end of 1849, while Father Orengo spent the latter half of 1850 in that part of the state. Father Cubero, who came with the Dominican Sisters, remained at Memphis until the arrival of Father John Raymond Cleary, whose first baptism there is dated October 9, 1851. This zealous young clergyman, but lately ordained, was sent by his provincial to be a permanent assistant in the city and on the missions. Father J. A. Bokel came in April, 1852, to look after the Germans. Two years later, June, 1854, he was succeeded by Father R. A. Gangloff. Thus, beginning with Father Bokel, Memphis and its missions never had less than three priests.[34].

The missionary force was also increased in middle Tennessee. A Father Augustine Murphy reached there sometime in 1854, or perhaps late in the previous year. Most likely he came from Ireland, as we could find no earlier trace of him in the United States; and possibly

[34] Church records of Saint Peter's, Memphis. Father Cubero was born in Saragossa, Spain, March 7, 1807, and entered the Order of Saint Dominic in his native land. At the time of the suppression of the religious orders in Spain, he went to Italy, and was ordained at Viterbo in 1837. With the exception of the few months in Tennessee, he spent his priestly life in Ohio and Kentucky. About 1861, while at Zanesville, Ohio, he obtained permission to become a missionary apostolic. He then labored at Dayton, Ohio, for nine or ten years, and for a short while in Louisville Kentucky. Early in 1872, he became chaplain of the Dominican Sisters at Saint Catherine's, near Springfield, Kentucky, where he died on July 15, 1883.

his services were obtained by Father Schacht, while the latter was in Europe. Father Nicholas R. Young, a nephew of Ohio's veteran missioner of the same patronymic, appeared in Nashville late in 1854, or early in 1855. He had been sent by the Dominican provincial to the aid of the sorely pressed bishop, and remained for over a year and a half.[35]

Father Orengo, although he had missions of his own, was eminently an itinerant harvester of souls. A spiritual watchman we may call him. Ever on the alert, as well as ready for the orders of his bishop, an appeal from a brother priest, a call from the people, or a notice from some one in need, whether spiritual or temporal, the Italian clergyman was here, there, and everywhere. It took more than one horse with sinews of steel for his incessant travels. Nowhere was he a stranger throughout the length and breadth of Tennessee. Oftentimes did the bare earth serve him for a bed, the saddle for a pillow, and the overhanging trees for protection, whilst the stars in heaven's canopy twinkled joyfully down upon his peaceful slumbers at night. He appeared never to grow weary, nor to become discouraged.

Not infrequently his only food for the day consisted of cheese and crackers, which he ever carried in his pockets. For his faithful steed he stored corn in a bag

35 Father Young's name appears in the *Almanac* for Tennessee only in 1856, but he baptizes at Nashville in February, 1855. Father Murphy's is given for the first time in the *Almanac* in 1855. There is something of a tradition in Nashville that Bishop Miles went to Ireland on business in the early fifties; but as no record to that effect could be discovered, and all indications seem to point to the contrary, we are inclined to the belief that Father Schacht's visit abroad has been changed into a journey of the bishop. It is possible, however, that Father Murphy received orders late in life in this country—perhaps even from Bishop Miles himself, though no record of it was discovered.

flung across the animal's back. While it enjoyed its meal, he partook of his own frugal portion, which he washed down with a little coffee heated in a tin cup (both of which he invariably took with him) over a small fire lighted by the roadside. Nor rain nor shine, nor heat nor cold, did he suffer to prevent a work of mercy, whether spiritual or temporal. Balmy as the climate of his native land was his cheerful disposition. Everyone loved him, for he greeted all with an open heart, no less than with a glad hand and a welcoming smile. Uncompromising with evil and error, he was the soul of compassion towards the sinner and the deceived. Many wayward lives did he reform; not a few converts did he bring into the Church.[36]

Father John M. Jacquet was another of Tennessee's indefatigable missionaries. Indeed, there seems to have been almost a holy rivalry among some of them to see who could undergo the greatest hardships and privations. From the time he left the cathedral (1847 or 1848), he knew no rest. At first, his visits extended from Chattanooga to Jonesborough. Later he was commissioned to look after the spiritual needs of the Catholic laborers in the coal mines and on the railroads and other public works in the southern and eastern parts of the state—mostly around Chattanooga. He is said to have built a small church near the Chattanooga tunnel, which was burned down by "the enemy."

[36] Some years ago, the old people in Tennessee were wont to tell the most edifying stories of Father Orengo's missionary life there. The late Rev. Eugene Gazzo and two of the early Dominican Sisters at Memphis, Sisters Vincent Nicolas and Mary Pius Fitzpatrick, loved to dwell on the Italian Friar Preacher's zeal, labors, and spirit of self-sacrifice. More than once, starting from one extreme of the state for another, he traversed practically its entire length, stopping at his own mission in the central part, just long enough to take a meal and change horses.

Following the toilers from place to place, he slept in hovels, subsisted on the coarsest food (which he often prepared for himself), and wore the rough garments of the ordinary workman of his day. Never was he heard to complain of his lot. He bore all and did all with alacrity, for it was for the glory of God and the salvation of souls. Only one fault did the people find with him, namely that he was at times somewhat harsh and crabbed. Children are said to have feared him for this failing, which was no doubt due in part to the life which necessity forced upon him. Beneath a severe outward appearance there beat a heart tender as a mother's, no less than true as steel.

Unfortunately, Father Jacquet engaged to labor in Tennessee for only ten years. At the end of this period, doubtless feeling that he had done his part by the Diocese of Nashville, he applied to be received into that of Cincinnati. Bishop Miles in a letter of date September 19, 1855, to the Most Rev. John B. Purcell indicates his regret at the loss of so valuable a priest. Apart from the slight fault just mentioned, Bishop Miles tells his friend Father Jacquet "is an excellent missioner; industrious and full of zeal; plain, honest, and blunt; and one that will never deceive you." [37]

[37] Notre Dame Archives. At first, Father Jacquet wished to go to California; but Archbishop Alemany, unwilling to deprive the Diocese of Nashville of so serviceable a priest, did not encourage his proffer. Father Jacquet was born of Claude and Claudine (Blethery) Jacquet at Saint Bonnet, France, August 20, 1817. He was ordained by Louis J. M. Cardinal de Bonald, archbishop of Lyons, December 21, 1844. On March 7, 1845, he obtained the cardinal's permission to leave France for the Diocese of Nashville.

In Ohio his labors were not less hard, zealous, and self-sacrificing than they had been in Tennessee. At first, he was stationed at Temperanceville (Saint Mary's), Belmont County. About 1866 he went to reside at Bellaire, where he had built a church, and was there when that part of

Although cast in a milder mold, and possessed of a more retiring disposition, than his French co-laborer whose toils in Tennessee we have just outlined, Father Louis Hoste was not less zealous, indefatigable, or willing to endure hardships. He seems to have been blessed with a sweet priestly character to which the Catholics, and even Protestants, took instinctively. Possibly because of his gentle nature, he had no love for positions of authority which sometimes demand stern decision, if not even stern action. This, we are inclined to believe, was what induced him to resign the vicar-generalship. He seems also to have preferred the quiet of life in the country to the noise, bustle, and distractions of that in a city.[38]

While he resided in Nashville, saintly Father Hoste had attended several missions in northern Tennessee from 1845 or 1846. From 1848, if not before the close of the previous year, he made his home at Saint Michael's, Robertson County, where he at once opened a school for both sexes and an orphan asylum for boys, of which we shall speak more at length later. Suffice it here to state that these institutions, together with the parish, required all this zealous priest's time until near

the state was taken (1868) to form the Diocese of Columbus. In 1869 he was transferred to Coshocton. In all these places he had charge of several missions. In 1895 he retired. In the following year he went to spend the rest of his days with Bishop Nicholas A. Gallagher (whom he had largely educated for the priesthood), at Galveston, Texas, where he died on October 24, 1896.

Until the end of his long life, he retained the highest regard and the deepest affection for Bishop Miles; which, no doubt, combined with his own touch with the fathers in Tennessee and the traces of their labors in Ohio to make him an ardent admirer of the Order of Saint Dominic. This admiration he instilled into the future bishop of Galveston.

38 Traditions still live of Father Hoste's mild and amiable disposition, and of how he was loved by children.

the end of the period of Bishop Miles' life covered by the present chapter. Just when Father Hoste resigned his post as vicar general we have not been able to determine with certainty. Although the title does not appear after his name from 1848, we are convinced that his resignation was not accepted until the appointment of a successor four years later; for so apostolic a bishop would hardly have left such an important position vacant for that length of time.[39]

Father Samuel Montgomery, stalwart of character, as well as possessed of rare prudence and judgment, became vicar general in 1852, holding the position through the remainder of Bishop Miles' life and the short administration of his successor, the Right Rev. James Whelan. Doubtless it was because of these sterling qualities that the Father of the Church in Tennessee selected him for the place, even though he was not a diocesan clergyman. Tradition tells us that the choice met with universal favor, for by all was he regarded as a man of God. Ever ready for whatever task was assigned him, he continued to be very useful, in spite of his age.

Vigorous Father Ivo Schacht, just in the prime of manhood, seemed never to tire. The records of the old cathedral show his labors in Nashville, while the *History of the Sisters of Charity of Leavenworth* attests his interest in that community as long as it remained in Tennessee. It must have been his youth, or perhaps an incipient manifestation of his self-will and officiousness, that prevented his appointment as vicar general. One of the new-comers, Father Murphy, superintended the bishop's school and visited neighboring missions. The

[39] *Catholic Almanacs* from 1846 to 1855.

other, Father Young, appears to have been largely employed in preaching or lecturing through the state.

Anti-Catholic bigotry has never been more rampant or violent in the country than it was at this period. To Tennessee's credit be it said that, while it was there, it did not attain the strength which might have been expected. Possibly this was due in no small measure to the influence of Bishop Miles and his clergy. Knoxville, where priests had been seen the least frequently, witnessed perhaps the most violent manifestations of the unnatural frenzy. When, early in 1855, a plot of ground one hundred and fifty feet square was purchased just outside the city limits for Catholic purposes, the wrath of the bigots knew no bounds.

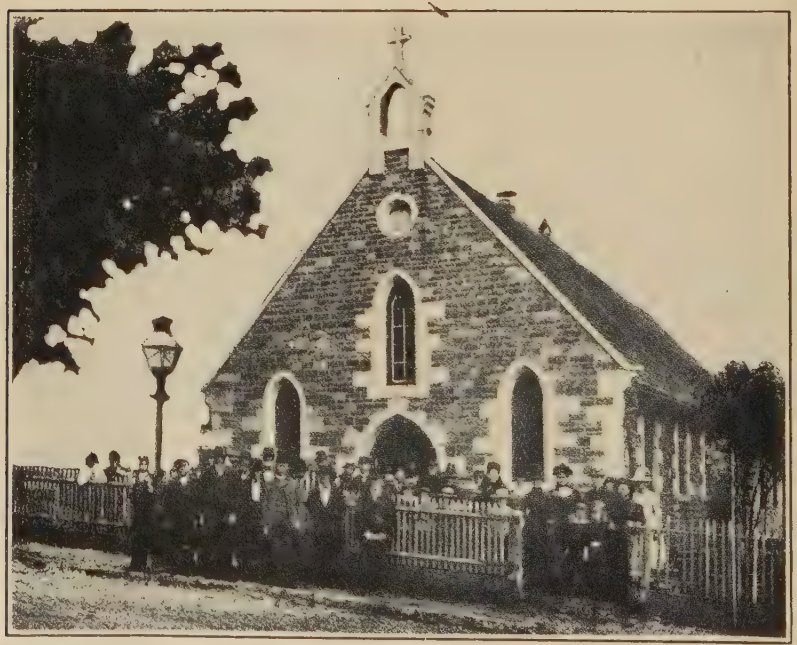
Tradition, which has found its way into manuscript and public print more than once, tells us that Father Brown was compelled to have the little stone church, which he started at once, guarded day and night to prevent the walls from being torn down, and the material thrown into the Tennessee River. History suggests that the prejudice was strongest among the descendants of the former Catholic families spoken of by Father Badin. However, the fair-minded Protestants prevailed, and peace was restored. The *Knoxville Register* of June 7, 1855, told its readers:

> The building designed for a Catholic Church and school in this city is still in a state of progress. We have been requested to state that the lot on which it is being constructed was not given to the Catholic Church by any member of the American Party, but was purchased from Jacob Newman, deceased, who of course had a right to sell it to any one he pleased. We make this statement as an act of justice to all concerned—as true facts that cannot be doubted.[40]

[40] Deed Book T, pp. 385-387 (Recorder's Office, Knoxville) contains a

REV. JOSEPH L. BIEMANS

REV. NICHOLAS R. YOUNG, O. P.



THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION CHURCH

KNOXVILLE'S FIRST RESIDENT PASTOR, FIRST CHURCH, AND THE PRIEST WHO PREACHED AT ITS DEDICATION

The exquisitely beautiful little temple of prayer was dedicated to God, under the title of the Immaculate Conception, shortly after the *Register's* statement. Bishop Miles, it is said, performed the ceremony, and Father Nicholas R. Young preached a sermon. Knowing what we do of the Friar Preacher's classic diction, eloquence, and happiness of speech, it is hardly an exaggeration to say that his discourse must have not only pleased his audience, but also have done much to allay the spirit of intolerance in Knoxville. Before the close of the year (1855), the Rev. Joseph L. Biemans, a splendid type of the Belgian missionary, arrived in Nashville. He was forthwith stationed at Knoxville as its first resident pastor, with a charge that extended near and far. Bishop Miles could have but experienced the keenest joy that this part of his diocese could at last practically sustain a priest, and that he could spare one for its special care.[41]

title bond dated February 28, 1855, whereby Jacob and William G. Newman bind themselves under penalty of twenty-four hundred dollars to deed to Bishop Miles a plot of ground fronting one hundred and fifty feet on Vine Street, and extending one hundred and fifty feet along Crooked Street, when he paid the last four hundred of the twelve hundred dollars of the purchase money. This was to be on February 28, 1857. Deed Book V, pp. 575-576, gives the deed for the same to Miles, February 2, 1857, by T. W. and J. W. Newman, administrators of Jacob Newman, for themselves and William Newman. Deed Book W, pp. 13-14, gives a deed for an adjoining plot (fronting ten feet on Walnut Street, and extending, the same width, the full length of the above property) by Willlam G. Swan to Bishop Miles. The instrument states that Mr. Swan did this for "a sufficient consideration." It is said that Swan, though not a Catholic, made the bishop a present of these ten feet so that no one would be able to build a house too near the pretty little stone church.

41 An outline of Father Bieman's life on the back of a mortuary card says that he was born at Edeghem, Belgium, November 3, 1831, left his native country for the missions of the United States in 1851, and was sent to Knoxville in 1853. This last date is certainly erroneous, and we

This arrangement left Father Brown free to devote his undivided attention to the growing parish at Chattanooga and its missions. At Memphis Father Grace was always and ably assisted by two curates. When (in June, 1854) Father Bokel, who was much beloved wherever he labored, became master of novices in Ohio, Father Gangloff took his place at Saint Peter's. The care of the Germans in western Tennessee fell particularly to these two men, but they also gave a helping hand to the pastor in other work.[42] Father Cleary did not confine his labors to the diocese. Up and down the majestic Father of Waters he travelled, laboring among the workmen on the boats and levees, no less than traversed northwestern Mississippi, eastern Arkansas, and western Tennessee in every direction.

Perhaps no clergyman ever chose harder, less inviting, and more unwholesome toil than that to which this self-sacrificing son of Saint Dominic devoted himself with all his heart. He was the soul of charity. The

are strongly inclined to think that the second is also an error. The card was got out in London, England, where he had labored, after leaving Tennessee, until two years before his death, which took place in his native town. This may account for the errors. Very likely Father Schacht came in touch with him in 1852 or 1853, and engaged his services for Tennessee when he should be ordained, which, if the date given for his birth is correct, could hardly have taken place earlier than 1854.

42 *Almanacs* from 1853 to 1856; Father Bokel's diary. Father Bokel was born on September 1, 1820, in the hamlet of Herbergen, near Löningen, in southwestern Oldenburg, Germany. His parents were George and Catherine (Kramer) Bokel. He came to Baltimore in 1838. In 1842 he went to Saint Joseph's, in Ohio, as a postulant. There he received the habit of Saint Dominic, September 18, 1844, made his profession, September 25, 1845, and was ordained by Archbishop Eccleston on June 20, 1848. He remained in Ohio until made the first pastor of the Germans in Memphis. After leaving there, he labored in many parts of the country (principally in Ohio, Kentucky, and Washington City), and spent much time on the missions.

poor were the special object of his tireless ministrations. No wonder the people loved him. Labor and exposure undermined his health, rendering him an easy victim for the yellow fever which he contracted while attending the sick, and of which he died on September 17, 1855, within a few hours after he was stricken with the fatal malady.

The *Daily Appeal* of Memphis says of him, September 18, 1855: "We regret to announce the death, of yellow fever, on yesterday, of Father Cleary. We have the assurance that his decease was produced by unremitted attention to the sick of his congregation and his previous delicate health." Similarly, the *Catholic Telegraph* of September twenty-ninth states: "We have heard with deep regret of the death of Rev. Mr. Cleary, of congestive [yellow] fever, at Memphis a few days since. Mr. Cleary was ordained at St. Joseph's, Somerset, by Archbishop Purcell only about four or five years ago; but his services to religion in Memphis, and for many miles up and down the Mississippi, will never be forgotten."[43]

Although it was much against his will, his lovable character caused him to be nearly always in some post of responsibility. He was superior at Memphis in 1878, and was engaged in giving a retreat when the yellow fever epidemic of that year broke out. At once he stopped the retreat, and hurried back to the afflicted city; but on his arrival he received a telegram ordering him away in virtue of holy obedience. From this will be seen the lack of both charity and truth in the insinuation of a certain paper that he fled because of terror. No man would have laid down his life more courageously than Father Bokel. In advanced age he spent several years as chaplain of the Dominican Sisters of Sinsinawa, Wisconsin. Wherever he labored, he left a hallowed memory because of his priestly zeal, and saintly life, and eminent virtues. He died in Washington City, March 28, 1902.

[43] Father Cleary was born in Dublin, Ireland, in March, 1827, his parents being Thomas and Margaret (Deagan) Cleary. There also he received his early education. In 1844 he came direct to Saint Joseph's, in

Father Cleary was the first priest to die of yellow fever in Tennessee. His premature death was a shock to his many friends, a severe loss to religion as well as to his brethren, and no doubt a cause of deep sorrow to Bishop Miles. Father Orengo filled the gap created by it at Memphis until the arrival of a successor late in November.

Ohio, as a postulant, received the habit on November 16, 1845, and took the religious vows a twelvemonth later. He was ordained by Archbishop Purcell, July 26, 1850. Thence until he went to Memphis he labored in Ohio. His priestly career was short in years, but filled with fruitful toil, and rich in virtue.

CHAPTER XX

RESUME—PERSONS AND PLACES

Years ago, Brother Azarias wrote of Catholic history: "The past is ours, but we treat it shamefully. We neglect it; we let its sacred memory be enveloped in a growth of rank weeds that hide or efface its noble records; we permit its deeds to be misrepresented, its honor to be stained, its glory to be tarnished; and scarcely, if at all, in feeble accents do we enter protest." In a similar strain, a contributor to the *Nashville Banner* of October 24, 1897, told his readers: "If the walls of beautiful St. Mary's Cathedral could speak, they would tell the heart story of many a one who has worshipped God within their confines in the half century the edifice has been dedicated to the service of God. Not even the most casual visitor can cross its sacred threshold without a feeling of reverential awe."

Kindred thoughts and sentiments are responsible, in part at least, for the chapter which we now undertake. Besides, there can be no diocese without the faithful, whilst beginnings have a special interest all their own. However, since a mutiplicity of the names of the early Catholics would render our volume of undue size, and is scarcely expected in a work of its character, we shall be content with the earliest discovered in the research which was more or less directed merely to the acquisition of a better knowledge of Bishop Miles' pastoral life in Tennessee.

In fact, this part of our story is a later determination. While, for the reason given, it must necessarily be incomplete, and perhaps at times inexact, it can hardly fail to be of interest to the reader, especially the Tennesseean. May its recital lead to a history along the lines of the excellent book of the Hon. Ben. Webb on Catholicity in the neighboring State of Kentucky. The centenary of the diocese would be an appropriate occasion for its appearance, as well as afford time for ransacking records, both civic and ecclesiastic, which would be necessary in order that the task might be at all well done. Nor can the Knights of Columbus in the Diocese of Nashville aid a work that would redound more to their credit.[1]

Few will be disposed to question that Timothy De Montbrun and his family were Nashville's first Catholics. Others perhaps were not slow to follow, though, through lack of priests, they most probably gave up their faith. In the issue of the *Banner* just quoted we read: "The records of 1784-1785 show that of the twenty-six taxpayers enrolled on the books half a dozen bear Catholic names, viz.: Carr, Gillespie, Hayes,

[1] From the above remarks the reader can see that this chapter is an afterthought. It was not decided upon until much of the book had been actually written, and when it was too late personally to copy names from the baptismal records, without another visit to Tennessee. Fortunately, however, we had done this for Nashville; while Fathers Francis D. Grady of Knoxville and Innocent Damiani of Memphis kindly sent us the earliest records of those places, and Miss Nora Crimmins copied the first year (1852) of the register at Chattanooga. Nearly all the other names we give are taken from notes of or letters to Fathers William Walsh and John K. Larkin, which we transcribed while at the Cathedral, Nashville. Although, for this reason, in the matter of earliest names (always one of the historian's hardest problems), we can hardly claim that degree of certitude which we make bold to believe characterizes the rest of the book, it is still hoped that the present chapter will fairly serve the purpose for which it is written.

Mulloy, Neville, and Walker."[2] About the first five of these names there can be little doubt. There are others not less distinctly Catholic in the early annals of the state capital; but, as it is not known whether they professed the religion indicated by their patronymics, it seems useless to give them here.

Father Badin has told us that there were a few Catholics in the city and vicinity in the opening years of the nineteenth century, although he mentions only the staunch old Frenchman, De Montbrun. Nevertheless an apparently well authenticated tradition tells us that there was then in Nashville a Mrs. Jane Manea, a native of Dublin, Ireland, and that mass was said in her house in 1810, which, it will be recalled, was the year in which the venerable missionary visited the city. Her daughter Jane married a man by the name of Carroll from Virginia, and her descendants still live in Tennessee's capital.[3]

Although others might possibly be unearthed in the county records, the names of practically all the Catholics who went to labor on Nashville's first bridge are now buried in oblivion. Philip Callaghan, who later married Mrs. Manea's granddaughter, Mary Carroll, seems to have been one of them. Joseph Dwyer and his wife, whose daughter Elizabeth became Mrs. William D.

[2] *Nashville Banner,* October 24, 1897. *Facts,* August 18, 1894, Barr (*St. Mary's Cathedral, Nashville, Tennessee,* p. 9), and a manuscript sketch by Father William Walsh (Nashville Archives) make the same statement.

[3] This tradition is still rather general in Nashville. It is particularly strong among the descendants of Philip Callaghan, an early Catholic of the city who married Mary Carroll, a granddaughter of Mrs. Manea. One of them, Mrs. Thomas J. Tyne, still preserves and treasures two silver candlesticks used at mass in the Manea homestead, and two crystal vases employed in administering the sacrament of baptism.

Phillips; Patrick Kinney; and Daniel Barr, who married Miss Susanna Gallagher, go back to the early days of the city's Catholicity, if they were not even among the mechanics taken down from Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, or Louisville. Possibly a Mr. Gallagher and a Mr. Slavin, whose first names and family connections we did not learn, Thomas McLaughlin and his wife Ann, and a Mrs. Flowers go back almost to the same period.[4]

The five brothers, Michael, Hugh, James, Patrick, and William Burns, and Thomas and Margaret (Coyle) Farrell, together with their son James, who is said to have been Nashville's first altar boy, certainly settled in the city in the thirties. To the same period belong John and Elizabeth (McGran) McGovern; John McHenry; John Herman and Mary (Ratterman) Buddeke; John G. and Frederic Ratterman (possibly also their father, Bernard Ratterman, who died at Nashville in 1852, at the age of eighty-two years); and Andrew Morrison, whose wife was Miss Sarah Lawrence. The agent for the *Catholic Advocate* at Nashville, from 1836 to 1838, was one F. Lynch. He was succeeded by W. Dougherty. Others still might be revealed in Father Durbin's records at Saint Vincent's, Union County, Kentucky.[5]

Old Saint Mary's registers, now at the new cathedral, show the baptisms, in 1838, of the children of Thomas

[4] The above is a prevailing opinion in Nashville, and one finds it stated in more than one short account of the city's early Catholicity.

[5] The burial records show that Bernard Ratterman died on September 2, 1852. Probably he was the father of the other Rattermans. The *Advocate* for these years, *passim*, gives Lynch and Dougherty as its agents in Nashville. Staunch Michael Burns married Miss Margaret Gilliam, who was not a Catholic at the time; but she became an exemplary convert. A number of the names in these two paragraphs appear on the early church records.

and Catherine (Molloy) May; John and Mary (Hughes) Flannagan; Joseph and Louisa (Mitchel) Desprès; John and Emily (Frensly) Garvin; Cornelius and Tabitha (Allen) Boyle; and John and Martha (Watterson) Griffin. Omitting all names that have appeared before, as was done in the case of those whose children were baptized at this time, the sponsors were: Patrick Monahan, Catherine Brannan, Charles Kinney, Mary Kinney, W. and Jane Murray, William Lowe, and Eleanor McLaughlin.

These were followed, in the next year, by the baptism of children whose parents were: John and Mary (Sanders) Dane; George and Louisa (Kutman) Benzer; Andrew and Caroline (Dildy) O'Neil; James and Margaret (Shaunpy) Quinlon; Patrick and Martha (Woods) Armstrong; Jeremiah and Mary (Lyning) Donovan; William and Bridget (Coyle) Lowe; John and Judith Baptiste; Charles and Frances French; and James and Mary (Harrison) McGrath. The sponsors in 1839, still omitting names previously shown, were: Julius Werner, Dina Burns, Collum Dorly, Ann Fitzsimmons, Kennedy Lonergan, Eleanor Fitzsimmons, Martin and Anastasia Brazil, Jeremiah Shinnick, Jane McCarthy, James McLaughlin, Eleanor McGovern, Mary Bonfils, William Dougherty (likely the *Advocate's* agent), James McDermott, and Eleanor McLaughlin. Daniel McGrath, whose wife was baptized in 1840, should also be included in the list.

Doubtless these names, together with some that appear in the records of 1840 and 1841, represent the handful of Catholic families with which Bishop Miles began his pastoral labors in Nashville. George H. Wessell, the Kuhns, and Mr. and Mrs. Francis A.

Hyronemus, J. D. Plunkett, Mr. and Mrs. Francis W. Collet, and William Dorrity, who are sometimes mentioned as persons who took an active part in early church affairs, appear to belong to a somewhat later date. The same is true of Mrs. Charles Sanders, whose name has appeared in a previous chapter. Thomas Murphy likewise belongs to this category. He was probably a grandnephew of Bishop Miles, and brother to Mrs. Sarah (Murphy) Marcell who held the position of organist in the cathedral for a number of years, and was noted for her musical accomplishments.[6]

Indeed, it is said that not a few of our prelate's Catholic admirers in Kentucky followed him to Nashville, one of whom was Joseph H. McGill, a brother of the third bishop of Richmond, Virginia. Irish names outnumber those of any other nationality in the baptismal records through all Bishop Miles' life as chief pastor. German patronymics appear with the next greatest frequency. It was in part for the benefit of this portion of the parish that Father Schacht was first brought from Clarksville to the cathedral, and special services were held for them at given hours on Sunday. One is rather surprised at the number of French and Italian names, and it explains why the old *Catholic Almanacs* speak of Fathers Hoste and Jacquet being the pastors of the French in the city.

The Buddekes, Rattermans, Wessells, Kuhns, and Hyronemuses, we are told, were leaders in German Catholic activities. Michael Burns, Philip Callaghan, Thomas Farrell, Mrs. Charles Sanders, Mrs. William

[6] The *Nashville Banner* of April 30, 1904, says that Mrs. Marcell was the second organist of the cathedral. Doubtless the Henry C. Marcell, whose death is noted in the cathedral records as having taken place on February 8, 1854 ("aged 49 years"), was her husband.

D. Phillips, and her daughter, Mrs. Felix Demoville, and Philip Olwell were among those who never tired in aiding religion in whatever way they could. Burns and Farrell seem often to have been the bishop's advisers in matters financial. Whilst the sum generally given (eighteen hundred dollars) is likely an exaggeration, it can hardly be denied that these last two gentlemen canvassed the city for means to repair Holy Rosary Cathedral before the arrival of the Father of the Church in Tennessee, or that by far the greater amount was subscribed by non-Catholics.[7]

Frequent reference has been made to the generosity and kindliness of this latter element in the city towards the bishop. Among those who showed him a signal friendship must be placed Felix Grundy and his family. Another was Vernon K. Stephenson, whose wife, Miss Elizabeth Childress, was one of Nashville's early converts and devout Catholics.

In this connection, it should be further noted that the homes of the Catholics, whether rich or poor, were ever open to their clergy without limit as to the time of welcome. The bishop himself, in the goodness of his heart, did not hesitate to give his own room to some travelling priest, and trust to this southern hospitality for his personal accommodation. Callaghan, Buddeke, Burns, Farrell, Ratterman, Phillips, Sanders, and Wessell are the names most frequently mentioned as those who often thus sheltered the care-worn ambassadors of Christ. Possibly the recurrence of such acts of charity, especially in the earlier missionary days, is responsible for the

[7] The activity, goodness, and interest of these people still form the subject of frequent conversation, for they are one of Nashville's cherished traditions. We also find them mentioned in a number of brief accounts of the early Church there.

exaggerated time the bishop or a priest is said to have lived in some of these homes.[8]

The principal interest of all, even if they could do but little towards the project, was not merely that they should have a place of worship worthy of the great purpose to which it was to be consecrated. They wished it to contribute to the greater glory of God and His true Church by the fact that it should be one of the finest ecclesiastical structures in Tennessee's capital. For this Father Brown's artistic talent and training came in well. During the first two or three years of his priestly life, he devoted every spare moment to painting and decorating the interior of the sacred edifice; and when he completed the task, their was perhaps no other such object of art in the state comparable to his work in the Seven Dolors Cathedral.

Sumner County's first Catholics, it can hardly be doubted, were Hugh and Nancy (Duffy) Rogan, and their sons Bernard and Francis. The latter and his children William, John, Charles, and Clarissa (Mrs. Joseph Desha) long remained among the Church's mainstays there. At Gallatin, the county-seat and not far distant from Rogana, or the Rogan home, Miss Jean or Jeanne Floyd was one of the earliest members of the faith. There also, or in the vicinity, settled the pioneers Francis, John, Patrick, and Michael Duffy, and brought their aged father. John Dwyer and his family, James Galvin, the two brothers, Daniel and Andrew McAulay, together with their sister Anne, and

[8] William D. Phillips lived in Edgefield, now East Nashville. He himself became a Catholic only on his death-bed. Still his family were of the faith, and in his home mass was said for the people in that neighborhood. Charles Sanders was another of the bishop's friends who came into the Church late in life.

apparently a family by the name of Fisher formed another group.

Quite possibly some of these people labored on the Nashville bridge, and moved to Sumner County after its completion. The two McAulay men were agents for the *Catholic Advocate,* which, in its issue of May 7, 1842, tells us:

> Died in Gallatin, Tennessee, on Saturday, the 2nd of April, after a lingering illness of about a month, Mr. Daniel McAulay, in the fifty-third year of his age. Mr. McAulay was a native of Ireland, but had been a resident of Gallatin for twenty-seven years previous to his death. Although thrown by circumstances into a situation where he had no opportunity of practising, during a long series of years, the observances of the Church, yet he adhered strenuously to the faith of his forefathers, and by the integrity of his conduct, and the rich vein of benevolence and Christian charity which animated all his intercourse with society, won for himself and for the faith he professed the respect of those by whom he was surrounded.[9]

Saint Michael's, the reader will recall, is between Turnersville and Springfield in the adjoining county—Robertson. This place was sometimes called the "Byrnes colony" from the fact that it seems to have been started by one John Byrne, who moved there from Davidson County with his wife, family, a widowed sister (Mrs. Redmond), and her two children about 1838. The baptismal register at Nashville shows the names of Henry, Frances, and Harriet Redmond. Although Saint Michael's was the center of considerable missionary activity, the only other names discovered in connection with it were Levi and Mary (Fisher)

[9] The *Advocate* of September 24, 1842, shows that Anne McAulay died on the seventh of the previous August; while its issue of November 5, 1845, gives an account of the death of the young convert wife of Andrew McAulay, which occurred on the sixth of the preceding July.

Traughber, Joseph Watson, and a Frenchman called Gustave Bouchard. Miss Dorothy Byrne, a daughter of the pioneer settler, devoted her long life to the Catholic education of the children in the neighborhood of the church.

However, there were several Catholic families on the outskirts between this mission and that of Rogana. In this section lived people by the name of Hynes, Donohue, O'Flaherty, Morgan, Badjer, and so on. Mass was said for them in the home of Michael Hynes, Saundersville, and in that of Mrs. O'Flaherty, at Goodletsville.

Protestant good-will and generosity (or was it in part a spirit of enterprise for the growth of the city) were largely responsible for the erection of a church in beautiful Clarksville at so early a date; for there were very few of the faith in that locality at the time. The heads of the earliest Catholic families there, so far as could be gleaned from parish records and other sources, were Mr. and Mrs. Thomas McManus; Hugh and Mary (Canon) Foy; George Kinney and wife; a Mr. Dougherty and a Mr. Walter; Balthasar and Martha Griter; Peter and Collette Catoir; James and Honora Coughlan; Thomas and Henrietta Marten (Mr. Marten was not a Catholic); Francis and Mary McManus; Michael and Anna (Corts) Schmitt; Thomas and Catherine (Burden) McMahon; John and Sarah Dunlevy; Denis and Honora Sullivan; John and Henrietta O'Neal; and perhaps Andrew and Margaret O'Sullivan. Patrick McManus, Margaret Griter, John Barres, John Whelan, Lucy H. Scott, Louis Schmitt, and Edward Ryan were also pioneer Catholics of the district; but we

did not discover whether they were married or single.[10]

Happily, the reminiscences of Humphreys County have been better preserved. In his report for the *Catholic Almanac* of 1845, Bishop Miles says of the settlement there: "This is a new plantation comprising a large tract of good and cheap land, sixty miles from Nashville, near the Tennessee River, and on the stage road from Nashville to Memphis." A Doctor Knapp of New Orleans, who married a Miss Neale of Maryland, purchased an extensive area in this county, and donated a thousand acres to the bishop, which the apostolic man sold for twenty-five cents an acre in an effort to draw Catholic settlers into his diocese. About ten years later, six hundred acres more were secured for the purpose, and the disposition of it entrusted to Father Orengo, whose activity gave birth to the parish now known as McEwen.[11]

Among the early settlers were James Neale (a brother-in-law of Doctor Knapp), Michael Brennan, Abraham Burchiel, Frank McQuaid, Patrick Burns, Nicholas Bradley, James Sheehy, Anthony and Andrew Leahman, Thomas Langan, Peter Connor, Thomas Tarpy, Patrick and John Dougherty, Peter Curley, Michael Pyburn, Patrick Halpin, John Glasner,

10 Father C. P. Wassem kindly furnished the names from the Clarksville church records. *Picturesque Clarksville, Past and Present—A History of the City of Hills,* although it was written in 1887, and speaks of other churches, says nothing of the Catholic Church. Several of the names it mentions are distinctly Catholic, but we do not know if those who bore them professed the faith. Goodspeed's *History of Tennessee,* published in 1886, says that the Boylans and Dunbarrys were then among the oldest Catholic families in Clarksville. However, they do not seem to have been among the first in the city. Today the Catholics of Clarksville, whilst not numerous, are highly regarded by their fellow citizens.

11 The *Almanac* for 1843 speaks of this colony, which shows that it began in 1842.

Thomas and William Glynn, John Hughes, Luke Farley, Terrence McGuire, Jeremiah Sheehan, Patrick Gilgannon, Patrick Herity, Thomas Conley, John Broderick, and Jeremiah O'Neil. There were also some families by the name of Dorney, Curtis, Gerraghty, Gallagher, McInroe, Heel, Taylor, and Larkin. There, too, now settled Thomas McManus and Hugh Foy, who had been in Clarksville.[12]

All the above places are in what is called "Middle Tennessee." In the same division of the state the *Almanac* mentions missions at Franklin, Williamson County; Murfreesborough, Rutherford County; Lebanon, Wilson County; Dover, Stewart County; Perryville, on the western bank of the Tennessee River, in Decatur County; Columbia, Maury County; Pulaski, Giles County; Fayetteville, Lincoln County; Shelbyville, Bedford County; Manchester, Coffee County; and Coal Mines, Marion County. That the location of Sycamore Mills was north of Nashville is shown by the fact that Father Hoste attended the place. Near the city also was the mission called "the Northwestern Railroad," in charge of Father Augustine Murphy.

Want of time and lack of information in the records at Nashville prevented the discovery of the names of any of the Catholics in all but three of these missions, or larger "stations." Those unearthed at Franklin were Mr. and Mrs. Hugh Kelly; Patrick McLaughlin; Mr. and Mrs. James Plunkett; Thomas Dempsey; Lawrence and Elizabeth (Clay Duval) Finn; John Finn; Frances Finn; William and Margaret (Brady)

12 The most of these names were taken from a manuscript account by Miss Eliza Pyburn (Nashville Archives) and conversations with Mrs. Thomas F. McQuaid, both of whom were born there in the early years of the settlement.

McKeon; Patrick McKeon; Eliza Kernahan; James and Eleanor (Harrison) Champion; and Agnes Pollock. Doctor S. Pollock, who Bishop Miles tells Bishop Blanc (1844) contemplates settling at Pointe Coupée, Louisiana, was also likely an early settler in Franklin.[13]

Only two families are mentioned in connection with Murfreesborough—one by the name of Harrison, and that of John Stanfield. Those of Matthew Martin, John Baxter, and Matthew and Margaret (Martin) Owen are designated as residents of Fayetteville. About eight miles from the city stood the home of Isaac and Mary (Daily) Poe. The head of this family was an exemplary convert, whose dwelling served as the mass-house for a few Catholics in that neighborhood. Doubtless Winchester, Franklin County, is not given in the *Almanac,* after the first years of Bishop Miles' episcopacy, because it was one of the smaller stations. Yet it has been seen that the venerable James Dardis moved there from Knoxville, and that he had a few companions in the faith.

Another division of the state is called "East Tennessee." During an apostolic journey through a part of this section, in the spring of 1844, Father Howard notes a number of baptisms. One was that of a child of Patrick and Mary Morgan, on the Cumberland Mountains, for whom Thomas Smyth and Ann Farley were sponsors. At William's Spring, he baptized children of Thomas and Elizabeth Gannon, and Denis and Caroline Sullivan, together with Elizabeth, the wife of John Dady. Here Lawrence Murphy appears as godfather.

13 Bishop Miles' letter to Bishop Blanc is dated April 9, 1844, and is in Notre Dame Archives.

In another place, the missionary did the same for a son of Patrick and Martha (Winsight) Daily, and received Mrs. Daily into the Church. Patrick McNally acted as sponsor. Elsewhere, children of Terrence and Mary (Harrison) Fogarty, and John and Dolly (Hennessy) Begly received the same sacrament. On the same journey, Mary Magdalen Cambden, wife of Patrick Thornton, was received into the Church and a daughter of James and Margaret (McNeely) McCulla baptized.[14]

Possibly the most distant point Father Howard reached on this occasion was Athens, McMinn County, where he christened Ellen, a daughter of John C. and Ann Catherine Molloy. From the fact that this is the only baptism noted for Athens at the time, and that the place is not mentioned among the stations of the diocese, except in the first years of its existence, we may conclude that, after the Irish laborers on the railroad passed on to other parts, but few Catholics were left in McMinn County.

In fact, though there were certainly many others of minor importance, only eight stations are given by name for this part of the state in the *Catholic Almanac* during the last decade of our apostle's life. Five of these were certainly attended from Knoxville, after that place received a resident pastor—Tellico Plains, Monroe County; Kingston, Roane County; Wartburg, Morgan County; Greeneville, Greene County; and Jonesborough, Washington County. Most likely Father Biemans also had charge of the Bayer Settlement in Polk County. The Walden's Ridge and

[14] Baptismal records at Nashville.

Sequatchie Valley stations fell under the care of Father Brown, who resided at Chattanooga.

The most prominent Catholics at Jonesborough were certainly the Aikens. Probably, together with those whom they helped to convert, they formed the greater part of the faithful in that mission; for they were intelligent and did much to spread the light of truth. Although a number followed the railroad into Greene County, the only ones whose names we came across were William and Honora (Nolan) Joy, who soon moved to Knoxville. In none of the other stations in the eastern part of the state did patronymics of any of the Catholics come under observation.[15]

James and Thomas Dardis, Patrick McCormack, and his son Edward were among Knoxville's first Catholics. James Dardis moved farther west; but what became of the other three and the rest whom Father Badin found there is not known. With the building of the East Tennessee Railroad Catholics flowed into the city in numbers, revived the faith, and finally placed the Church on a firm footing there, after a long period of the darkest desolation. The most conspicuous of these, as well as among the most practical, were Thomas L. Fossick, an Englishman, and his family. Fossick was a contractor on the railroad. He furnished the stone for the first church, and directed its construction. Father Brown drew the plans. Fossick's name deserves a conspicuous place in the Catholic annals of east Tennessee. All his Catholic toilers labored on the little church free of charge. David Grady seems to have

15 A number of evidences of the Aikens' spiritual activity were discovered. Sister Rose, O. S. D., of Saint Cecilia's Academy, Nashville, is a daughter of William and Honora (Nolan) Foy; and she was born in Greeneville.

been the master mason. When completed the structure "was so neat that it looked more like a picture than a real building."[16]

Prior to Fossick, Grady, and their co-workmen, however, a few other Catholics seem to have settled in Knoxville. Among these were Daniel Lyons, John B. and Peter Ricardi, and perhaps William Hayes, Michael Foley, and James Reilly. With Fossick were evidently James J. Bowser (his half-brother) and George Sedgwick. The earliest baptismal records of the place were likely taken to Chattanooga by Father Brown, who resided there, for those now at Knoxville begin only with September 29, 1855; and the number who received the sacrament between that time and the close of the next year show that Catholicity made rather fair progress in Knoxville at this juncture. Doubtless

[16] Thomas L. Fossick was born at Ingleton, England, in 1817. In 1839, he married Miss Margaret Richardson at Durham. Ten years later, he came to America, and to Lynchburg, Virginia, in 1850. Thence he went into Tennessee. During the Civil War he lost practically all he possessed, but recuperated a snug competency afterwards. January 13, 1887, he wrote to Father Francis T. Marron from Alabama:

"The little stone church upon the hill was built more than thirty years ago. And we had a hard struggle to raise the funds necessary to complete it. The congregation was very small at the time, and of the working class of people; but all contributed as much as they were able. All difficulties were surmounted, and it was a very happy day for the little congregation when the building was completed and ready for use. Several of those faithful old pioneer Catholics of Knoxville are still members of the same congregation. May the blessing of God attend them forever.....Nothing you could have sent me would be more highly treasured than this little picture and its accompanying inscription. While I live, I will ever preserve it as a memento of the past; and when I have passed away, I am sure it will always be cherished as a precious heirloom in my family" (Nashville Archives).

Fossick died at Sheffield, Alabama, June 13, 1894, fortified by all the sacraments of the Church.

some of the baptisms were performed at various stations.

In any case, the records of late 1855 reveal children of Patrick and Elizabeth (Brotherton) Dowd; John and Margaret Connor; Peter and Amanda (Wambell) McKieran; Patrick and Mary (McBarrens) Morgan; Patrick and Jane (Sheahan) Griffin; Martin and Bridget (Fogarty) Shea; William and Martha (Cochran) Phillips; Thomas and Pauline (Cahill) Clifford; Thomas and Margaret Hogan; James and Mary (O'Brien) Horan; and William and Mary (Flemming) Fitzgerald. The sponsors, leaving out names already mentioned, were Peter Joyce; Bernard D. and Bridget Dolan; Christopher Dillon; Catherine, Nicholas and Mary Lyons; Edward and Anna Morgan; Thomas Carroll and Catherine Curry; Michael Connor; Mary Leary; Patrick Welch; Daniel Brenahan; Margaret Kennedy; John McGrath; and Elizabeth Curry.

Throughout the next year baptisms were still more frequent; for the records show children of John and Mary Ferriter; Jeremiah and Sarah (Hembree) Collins; Patrick and Jane (Lee) Collins; Patrick and Elisa (Cobel) Clifford; John D. and Elizabeth (Moran) Manning; Denis and Helen Sullivan; Cornelius and Elisa (Gillin) Armstrong; Jeremiah and Catherine (McGettigan) Sykes; John and Eugenia (Rorke) Daley; Patrick and Elizabeth (Vane) Cotter; John and Mary (Tilden) Pedele; Michael and Theresa (Jenkins) Mulholland; Michael and Anna (Ody) Haloran; Patrick and Rachael (Body) Connor; Thomas and Elizabeth (Body) Harringham; Michael and Jane (Boler) Kem; Thomas and Mary (Shea-

han) Casey; Thomas and Elizabeth Farrell; Daniel and Mary (Martin) Sullivan; John and Anna (McGinley) O'Keefe.

The above baptisms were adminstered in the first half of the year. Those which follow occurred in the last six months of 1856, and were conferred upon the sons and daughters of Michael and Catherine (McDonald) Murphy; Timothy and Bridget (Sullivan) Devine; Thomas and Mary (Connell) Sheahan; Patrick and Mary (Daley) Carney; John and Jane (Burke) Breene; Maurice and Margaret (Lawne) Dolan; Michael and Mary (Wall) Nem; Jefferson and Dellalion (Wright) Germam; Charles J. and Susan (Boyer) Schrend; Jerome and Henrietta J. (Wetzell) Erhart; John and Honora (Davis) Shea; Cornelius and Margaret (Cantillon) Wrenn; Timothy and Mary (McCarthy) Dargan; Patrick and Honora (Connell) Donaghue; Daniel and Catherine (Rice) Lyons; William and Margaret (Oaks) Keegan; John and Anna (Connell) Fitzgerald; Patrick and Catherine (Sullivan) Donaghue; Michael and Margaret (Ryan) Larkin; John and Bridget (Wrenn) Callahan; William and Honora (Nolan) Joy; Patrick J. and Sarah C. (Starms) Duane; Thomas and Jane (Coleman) Sullivan; and John and Bridget (Keilly) Nichols.[17]

Of the same character are the sponsors' names throughout the year—nearly all not only distinctively Irish, but also distinctively Catholic Irish, as were many of the early settlers in eastern Tennessee. Doubtless these too, like their predecessors, would have lost

[17] Owing to Father Biemans' lack of familiarity with English and Irish names, and the difficulty of deciphering his handwriting, there are doubtless some errors in the above list of names.

the faith had not Bishop Miles been able to furnish them, though insufficiently, with priests. Before ground was secured for a church, the visiting missionary said mass in the homes of the faithful, among which were those of Daniel Lyons and Thomas Fossick.[18] While the structure was under way, a small house which stood on the same lot served for that purpose. But, Father Francis Marron assures us, "it was not unusual then for Parson [William G.] Brownlow [editor of the *Knoxville Whig*] to come around for the purpose of provoking the workmen [on the church], and to show his friends where his Satanic Majesty would stand in taking observations."[19]

Doubtless among those mentioned in later pages of the records were some of the earliest Catholics of Knoxville, after the resuscitation of the faith there; but we had no way of ascertaining them. No doubt, too, a few afterwards moved on to other places, where they perhaps helped to sow the seed of divine truth. The greater number of them, however, must have remained, and their descendants are today members of one or the other of the city's two flourishing parishes.

In the southwestern corner of this grand division,

[18] By some it is stated that Daniel Lyons was a Presbyterian. But the frequency with which that patronymic appears on the early church records as godparents proves that his family at least was Catholic. Daniel Lyons (was it father or son?) performs that function more than once. Perhaps Daniel, Senior, became a convert.

[19] An autobiographic outline of Father Marron for Father Larkin (Nashville Archives). There are traditions that Father Patrick O'Neill of Charleston, or one of the two Fathers Jeremiah O'Neill of Savannah, and a Father Brown, different from Father H. V. Brown, visited Knoxville. This is probably true of one of the O'Neills, though his visit was likely at a later date than that given. But there seems to have been no other Father Brown who could have made his way into Tennessee at this early date.

"East Tennessee," is situated one of the state's most historic, interesting, and scenic cities, which began with the ferry and warehouse of a half-blood Indian, John Ross. This circumstance, at first, gave it the name of Ross' Landing, where we find Bishop Miles and Father Durbin in the fall of 1838. Two hundred and fifty acres were then being laid off in town lots, an enterprise no doubt inspired by the hopes held out by the prospective approach of railroads already under way, and the advantageous location of the incipient village. In 1841, the name Ross' Landing gave place to the more euphonious one of Chattanooga.[20]

The visit of Bishop Miles and Father Durbin suggests that there were Catholics in the locality at the time. Besides, among those interested in the town from its start were John Keeney, Allen Kennedy, and A. S. Lenoir, names strongly indicative of the Catholic faith. Whether they professed it or not is another question. In 1841, Father Maguire made Chattanooga a center of missionary activity. Father Jacquet, who succeeded him, did the same; while Father Brown, one of Tennessee's most noted early missionaries, whether in point of zeal or years of service, spent by far the greater part of his priestly life there. Maguire certainly built a little temporary church in the vicinity of the city as early as 1841, which was the first Catholic house of prayer in eastern Tennessee.[21] The three planted with great care the seed of faith which has eventually grown into Chattanooga's present large and flourishing parish.

[20] *Catholic Advocate,* December 7, 1838; PARKMAN, *Chattanooga, Tennessee, Hamilton County, and Lookout Mountain,* pp. 5-6. See notes 4, 5, and 6 of Chapter XIV.

[21] PARKMAN, *op. cit.,* p. 5 and *passim; Catholic Advocate,* October 2, 1841. See end of Chapter XV.

Father Jacquet seems to have had one book of records for all his missions which he retained for himself, after Father Brown succeeded him at Chattanooga, and which in all likelihood is now lost. *Facts,* in its issues of August 4 and 18, 1894, tells us that, in May, 1847, Father Jacquet baptized Helen Deady in the neighborhood of Chattanooga; but there can be no doubt that he also baptized a number in the city both before and after that date. The earliest baptism now on record at Saints Peter and Paul's is that of Mary Ellen, daughter of John and Margaret Fitzgibbon. The date was February 10, 1852. James Cleary and Ellen Kiley acted as godparents; Father Brown administered the sacrament.

Then follow in order, during this year (1852), all by Father Brown, the baptisms of the children of John and Melvina Richardson; John and Mary Driscoll; Peter and Bridget Moran; Patrick and Ellen Kiley; Patrick and Margaret Farrell; Thomas and Jane McGovern; John and Helen Ahern; John and Margaret Myers; Daniel and Soethe M. Crowley; Terence and Elizabeth Slattery; James and Catherine Curtain; Hugh and Catherine Easley; Patrick and Ellen Boyle: Michael and Catherine Bohen; Denis and Catherine Sullivan; Thomas and Mary Boyle; and William and Margaret Sandrigan.

Among the sponsors of the time were Patrick and Catherine Sheahan; Patrick and Roger Sullivan; Michael and Bridget Doheny; Michael and Margaret Gibbons; William Stewart; Thomas Kediam and Margaret Dillon; David Coleman and Mary Cleary; Hugh Easley and wife Margaret; Margaret Hagerty; James and Margaret O'Connor; John Hannon; Timothy

REV. JOHN M. JACQUET

REV. HENRY V. BROWN

SAINTS PETER AND PAUL'S CHURCH

CHATTANOOGA'S SECOND CHURCH, AND TWO OF ITS EARLIEST MISSIONARIES

attended divine service in these places; and that the first Catholic church in Chattanooga was erected on a lot of Harrington, on Pine Street, close to his house. But the fact that the *Almanac* places the city among the stations attended by Father Jacquet as early as 1848 makes Father Walsh's statement that the missionary said mass in Chattanooga for the first time in 1850 open to question.

Records of the Hamilton County court-house substantiate the old tradition that Father Brown, acting under the direction of Bishop Miles, secured a great deal of land on "Branham Hill" which he sold to Catholics at cost price in order to keep them in Chattanooga and have them locate near the church. Father Walsh (*Facts,* August 4, 1894) also says that Father Brown erected the first Catholic temple of prayer in the city; yet one can not easily suppress the suspicion that this honor belongs to Father Jacquet, for he was an active man, and had spent several years in and around Chattanooga before the arrival of the artist priest. To the writer it seems quite probable that the little church on Mr. Harrington's lot was the work of the French missionary.

Besides, it appears to be understood that there was a church in Chattanooga in 1852; while, in a letter of September 7, 1852, Bishop Miles says Father Brown "is preparing to build a church. . . . and is entirely absorbed in his grand undertaking." This was certainly the frame structure on a stone foundation, which stood on A Street, where now stands the sisters' convent; and which an April or May issue of the *Chattanooga Advertiser* in 1854 shows had then made

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little progress.[24] In any case, *Facts* informs us that the French missionary built a little fane near "Cumberland Tunnel," which was burned on October 22, 1850. The names of neither of these ambassadors of Christ should ever be forgotten in Hamilton and the adjacent counties.

This brings us to what is known as "West Tennessee." After the departure of Father McAleer, that vast division of the state fell entirely to the care of the sons of Saint Dominic, who were then practically its sole missionaries for twenty years. Faithful were they to their duty; ceaselessly did they toil. While there were certainly others, the only stations mentioned in the *Almanac* as attended from Memphis were Jackson, Madison County; Somerville and La Grange, Fayette County; Bolivar, Hardeman County; and Savannah, on the eastern bank of the Tennessee River, in Hardin County.

With the exception of Bolivar and Jackson, we did not discover the names of any of the Catholics in these places. Bolivar's most noted family of the faith was that of the Barrys, the head of which would seem to have been Valentine D. and Mary (Adams) Barry. Their sons Daniel, William, and Arthur became newspaper men who left their impress upon the state. Possibly it was Valentine, the father, who visited Bishop Kenrick in Philadelphia, about 1832, to see if he could not send a priest to Tennessee. It appears that there were also some families by the name of Moore, Grace, Sterling, Arthur, Lee, and Collins at Bolivar,

[24] See preceding note for the *Advertiser* and note 19 of Chapter XIX for Bishop Miles' letter.

or in the neighborhood.[25] The elder Barry was a circuit judge, and died in Memphis.

Jackson, it is of record, had but few Catholics. Five of the families were those of James Hughes, George and Lydia (Armour) Jenkins, and John, Michael, and Philip Magevney. Another seems to have had the name of Meechim. The *Catholic Almanac* of 1844 says that half of the little congregation were converts; while we have in hand a statement which tells us that the convert wives of John Magevney, George Jenkins, and James Hughes were confirmed by Bishop Miles in 1842. Jenkins was a native of Baltimore. The others came from Ireland.[26]

As Memphis, or the "Bluff City," owes its existence largely to the energy, foresight, and ability of Judge John Overton, so Saint Peter's Church is in no small measure indebted to the business acumen of his kinsman and the executor of his will, John S. Claybrook, for its erection. Father Stokes' letters have told us of the good spirit and liberality of the enlightened non-Catholics there. However, with this was certainly mixed the desire to hasten and solidify the city's growth by encouraging Catholics to settle in it through the possession of a church under the auspices of their faith. There can be no doubt that this idea had its force in the warm reception given Bishop Miles and Fathers Stokes and Clancy on their first appearance on the Mississippi, or in the generosity shown in their cause, of which we have soon to speak.

25 Notes of Father Walsh (Nashville Archives).

26 Father Walsh as in preceding note, and Saint Peter's records, Memphis.

Father Stokes has told us of Patrick McKeon, Eugene Magevney, Patrick R. Kenna, and M. Langan, whom he met at Memphis in November, 1839, and of the interest they took in the erection of a church. On the same occasion, the records at Nashville show, he baptized at Memphis children of Basil and Catherine (Spaeh) Rapp; Michael and Mary (Murphy) Leonard; Patrick R. and Henrietta Bordley; and William and Pauline (Phiphs) Prince. The sponsors were Francis Scheller, Balina Prince, Catherine Calfield, P. McKeon, and Sophia Phobus.

However, there must have been a few of the faith in the Bluff City years before the arrival of these. At least, Patrick Meagher, the proprietor of the Old Bell Tavern and a friend of Andrew Jackson; "Squire" McMahon, engaged in the same business; Margaret Grace; Thomas B. Carr; John W. Fowler; John R. Dougherty; and half a dozen others similar in character, which one meets with in the early annals of the town, are names almost as distinctively Catholic as significatively Irish. Doubtless though we have here, in the case of some, the same sad story which one finds wherever there were no priests—defections from the religion of their forefathers.

Father Clancy's records can not be found, but it is known that he married Eugene Magevney and Mary Smyth on May 31, 1840. This was perhaps the first Catholic ceremony of the kind in Memphis. It took place in the Magevney home, which still stands on Adams Avenue, near Saint Peter's church.[27] Father

[27] Statement of Mrs. Catherine Hamilton, their daughter (Nashville Archives). One also reads this in practically every account of the early Church in Memphis.

Clancy seems to have had no home of his own, and he said mass in the houses of the faithful—among them that of Eugene Magevney. Tradition says that he usually offered the sacred mysteries in the homestead of this Irish school-teacher, where a mahogany bureau may still be seen which served as an altar.

Father McAleer's first recorded baptism was that of Mary, the first child of Mr. and Mrs. Magevney, who aftewards became a Dominican Sister. The date was February 24, 1841. Other baptisms in the same year, omitting those that appear to have been administered in Jackson and names already mentioned, were of the children of Edward and Drusilla (Cherry) Read; John and Margaret (Clancy) Conaghan; Thomas and Catherine (McCabe) Hogan; James and Mary (Gorman) Green; William and Margaret (Brady) McKeon; James and Mary (Warfel) McNamee; John and Margaret (Poland) Burke; and James and Annora (Hooligan) Nugent. The sponsors were Joseph A. White, Catherine Shaller, William and Mary (Dunn) English, James Kennedy and wife, Mary Larkin, William Bradshaw, Mary Conaghan, Patrick McKeon, Patrick Farrell, Michael Gaffney and wife, James and Mary (Quinn) O'Brien, Robert Burke, Mrs. Michael Kiely, and a Mr. Jones.

Again avoiding a repetition of names, the parents of 1842 were Frederic and Margaret (Bonninger) Udwig; Michael and Bridget (Handlon) Power; William and Mary (Quinlan) Irwin; Michael B. and Margaret (Murphy) Martin; Francis and Bridget (Foley) Coffey; John and Bridget (O'Connor) Burke; M. and Mary Agnes (Snyder) Miller; and Rudolph and Elizabeth (Armstrong) Davis. Among the god-

parents were Patrick Golden, Mrs. Davern, Thomas Costigan, Bridget Powers, Denis Kerby, Mary McCarthy, Thomas McKeon, John McMahon, Mary Haley, Bridget Archer, John Carroll, Joseph C. and Mary Ursula Snyder, Michael McNamara, Ann Reagan, and Peter Connolly and wife.

Father McAleer had all preparations made for the purchase of a lot when Bishop Miles returned from Europe. The anxious prelate therefore hurried off to Memphis, where he received a deed from John Claybrook on October 29, 1841.[28] Again the enlightened non-Catholics showed their good will; for, in a little book used alike to record the payment of pew-rent and to keep accounts for the erection of the sacred edifice, we read:

> The Committee deem it a pleasing duty to record this, on the very liminal of their official proceedings—the magnanimous fact that the Church lot was in part donated to our Bishop for the Catholic congregation worshipping at Memphis, by the acting agent (Mr. Claybrook) of the heirs of Judge Overton's estate, the nominal price required by the agent being five hundred dollars, which our Protestant brethren very generously paid, as shown by the annexed list.[29]

Unfortunately this list of contributors is no longer in the record. However, the accounts show that work was soon under way for building the temple of the Lord. Patrick McKeon, James Kennedy, Eugene Magevney, and M. Langan were appointed a committee for the people. Doubtless Kennedy took the place of Patrick Kenna, who had held that position in 1839, but who had likely left the city after the death of his young convert wife. Father McAleer himself

[28] Photostat copy (Archives of Saint Joseph's Province).
[29] Records of Saint Peter's.

REV. JOHN R. CLEARY, O. P.

REV. JOHN A. BOKEL, O. P.

MEMPHIS' FIRST RECTORY, ITS FIRST PRIEST TO DIE OF THE YELLOW FEVER, AND ITS FIRST GERMAN PASTOR

headed the committee, as well as had charge of all matters appertaining to the structure. In the *Memphis Appeal* of May 13, 1842, he issued the following notice:

> Sealed proposals will be received, from the 16th to the 24th of May, for the Brick and Carpenter work of a Catholic Church to be built in Memphis, agreeably to the plan and specifications to be seen at Rev. Mr. McAleer's office, opposite the City Hotel. Proposals to be deposited in the Post Office, addressed to
>
> M. McAleer.

The building accounts extend over twenty-two pages, run from April 17, 1842, to June 20, 1844, and show that Father McAleer's task was by no means without difficulties. Between fifty and sixty new names are revealed in these pages, the greater number of whom were doubtless Catholics. Henry and William Irwin had the contract for the woodwork; the firm of Hickman and Austin received that for the masonry. D. Morison was the architect.

Simultaneously with the church, which faced on Third Street, Father McAleer built a rectory. This stood at the rear of the church, fronted on Adams Avenue, cost one hundred and seventy dollars, and is said to have been almost a counterpart of Eugene Magevney's home.[30] Until his own house was finished, he probably lived in that in which he had his office, opposite the City Hotel.[31] Before the church was ready for use, he no doubt said mass at Magevney's and in the domiciles of other Catholics, if not in some hall rented

30 We have frequently heard Mrs. Catherine Hamilton and other old people speak of the location and appearance of the first Catholic rectory in Memphis. It was not taken down until 1872.

31 The City Hotel seems to have stood on Winchester Avenue, between Main and Front streets; and across from it there were some residences. Doubtless Father McAleer lived in one of these.

for the purpose on Sundays. The impression made on the public by Father McAleer may be gaged by the *American Eagle* of August 12, 1842. In an article entitled "The Memphis Churches", the editor of that paper states:

> The Roman Catholics are building a handsome brick Cathedral, and they have already quite a congregation. The officiating Priest is said to be a gentleman of learning and talents—but the Roman Catholics never stick asses in their pulpits—and we hope of piety also. They bid fair to have a flourishing church.

Hardly, however, was the modest temple of the Lord far enough advanced for divine service to be held within its walls, before the continual increase in the number of faithful showed that Father McAleer had miscalculated its size, and that the time was not far distant when a larger edifice would be needed. No doubt this was one of the reasons why he did not erect the spire which he had planned, or even have the church formally dedicated.

Scarcely had the Dominicans taken spiritual charge of Memphis, when they were confronted with the question whether they should enlarge Saint Peter's, or build another church. Money was scarce; as a rule, the new Catholics had acquired little of the world's goods; those not of the faith felt that they had done their share. This situation rendered the erection of a new edifice so soon after the first practically prohibitive. On the other hand, the fathers felt that an addition to the old would solve their problem for only a short time, and in the end greatly increase the burden of the people entrusted to their care.

For these reasons, it was determined to proceed with the dedication of the church, leaving matters in *statu*

quo for a few years more. Meanwhile, the flock grew steadily. Among the most noted additions, tradition tells us, was a nephew of Bishop Miles—Doctor George Murphy, who was not less faithful as a Catholic than successful as a physician.[32] Finally, May 25, 1852, Father Grace had the following notice inserted in the *Daily Eagle and Enquirer*: "To Brick Masons:—Proposals will be received for the Brick Masonry of a Catholic Church, to be built in the city of Memphis, agreeably to the plans and specifications to be seen at the office of the Rev. T. L. Grace, in the rear of the Catholic Church, Adams Street. Proposals desired immediately."

In like manner, the *Catholic Telegraph* of Cincinnati, in its issue of December 18, 1852, tells its readers: "The Catholics of Memphis, Tennessee, are about to erect one of the most splendid edifices west of the Alleghanies. . . . It is to have two towers, each one hundred feet high, surmounted by a chime of bells." But to tell of the progress, final completion, dedication, and beauty of the new Saint Peter's will fall to the final chapter.

32 The *Catholic Advocate* of January 24, 1846, notes the marriage of "Dr. George Murphy of Memphis, Tennessee, to Miss Mary Ann McManus of Bardstown," Kentucky, in the latter place on January 15. Doubtless he went to his former home to marry a sweetheart of his earlier days.

CHAPTER XXI

VARIOUS APOSTOLIC EFFORTS

It was doubtless immediately after his installation that, as an apparently authentic tradition tells us, Bishop Miles went to board at the hospitable home of Philip Callaghan, which stood on Market Street (the present Second Avenue), near the corner of Church Street. But he soon rented a house from one Dougherty, possibly the William Dougherty mentioned in the previous chapter. Here most likely it was that he fell sick in the fall of 1839, and received the last sacraments from Father Stokes. This building stood on the same street, then one of the nicest thoroughfares in the city, as that of Callaghan, but farther to the north.[1]

Here also was the holy man's stay of short duration, for he wanted a place of his own, wherein he would feel less fettered for the work of God. Accordingly, as soon as he received his first aid from the providential Society for the Propagation of the Faith—just before he started on his journey for Europe—he purchased a large lot from James and William Park. It fronted on the west side of Market Street, near Whiteside. On it evidently stood a commodious house, which was at once converted into a residence for the bishop and Father Stokes, no less than into a little seminary, since

[1] Notes of the Rev. William Walsh, after talks with Mrs. Mary (Kenney) Dougherty (Nashville Archives); RÖBERT, *Nashville and Her Trade for 1870*, p. 452.

such an institution appeared imperatively necessary that the diocese might be supplied with priests.[2]

Two more adjacent purchases, one from the same parties immediately after his return from abroad, and the other from Joseph B. Knowles and William Boswith, early in 1843, extended the diocesan property from Market Street on the west to Water Street (now First Avenue) on the east; while it stretched from Whiteside on the north to perhaps Locust on the south.[3] Considering the times, the bishop's poverty, the price paid for the holdings, and other circumstances, it was a bold venture which required a brave heart. A contributor to the *Nashville Herald* of January 12, 1890, tells us that the entire tract contained ten acres, and that it lay in the heart of what was then Nashville's finest residential section. Here Bishop Miles hoped to erect a cathedral, seminary, and college, in all of which he had the hearty sympathy of the city's most representative citizens, whether non-Catholics or those of his own faith.

Doubtless the man of God would have preferred to protect his seminarians with the quiet of a life in the country, but he had neither the means nor the clergy necessary for so many separate institutions. Besides, he wished to have the young aspirants to the priesthood near himself that he might keep a more constant eye on their training, whilst they could lend added solemnity to the services in the cathedral and give a helping hand

2 Father Stokes to Bishop Purcell, December 27, 1839 (Cincinnati Archives); same to the editor of the *Catholic Advocate,* February 19, 1840—copied in the *U. S. C. Miscellany* of April 4, 1840; Deed Book II, 459-460, Recorder's Office, Nashville.

3 Deed Book IV, 412-413; V, 23-24; and VI, 21-22, Recorder's Office, Nashville; *Nashville Herald,* January 12, 1890.

in the college. All these proposed structures he intended to make the grandest within his power, for he well knew the love of the southern people for the beautiful, and felt that in no other way could he more surely win their esteem, and perhaps predispose them to conversion.

Hardly, however, were his purchases completed before the likelihood of the encroachment of railroads and other public utilities on that part of the city began to loom large. He therefore secured other property for a cathedral. Nor was the wisdom of the step slow to become manifest; yet this change of plan, imposed by necessity, brought many inconveniences, greatly increased the burden of the bishop's indebtedness, and seriously interfered with his efforts for good, if it did not even retard the growth of Catholicity in Tennessee by shortening the means for its advancement. Thus, although the first location, at the time it was bought, appeared to be one of the best adapted for his purposes that he could select, the choice, through the civic development, proved unfortunate.

At any rate, our apostle now had no alternative but to leave his treasured seminary where it was, or to close it and sell the property at a sacrifice which he could not afford. Accordingly, he retained his residence, which stood at 110-114 North Market Street, where he continued his efforts to educate young men for the diocese.[4] Fathers Morgan, Hoste, Alemany, and Jacquet were successively the superiors of the seminarians. All lived with the pious bishop, who, as occasion permitted, not infrequently aided with the teaching.[5] Tradition tells

[4] City *Directories* of 1853-1854, 1855-1856, 1857.

[5] See the *Catholic Almanacs* from 1841 to 1848.

us that Father Montgomery also often gave a helping hand, and at times acted as superior. Father Schacht seems to have played a similar part.

Just when the little seminary was definitely closed we did not ascertain. It involved almost heroic sacrifice and hardship. Fathers O'Dowde, Howard, and Schacht appear to have been the only priests ordained from it. Yet there are clear indications that a number of others tried their vocations there, and proofs that Bishop Miles would ordain only those who showed evident signs of possessing such a sturdy character as would enable them to persevere on the trying missions of the diocese. More than one *exeat,* with a few lines of recommendation (for his letters were ever brief), reveal a student sent to other parts, where he became a successful harvester of souls.

Mention of Saint Athanasius' Seminary does not appear in the *Almanac* after 1848. Doubtless, in view of the results, Bishop Miles concluded that the candle was not worth the flame, for the money and labor devoted to the institution might yield richer fruits of religion in other fields. However, it deserves this fuller notice not only because it reveals a noble effort for the good of souls, but also because it was really the only diocesan seminary ever in Tennessee.[6]

Catholic education was a topic in which the subject of our narrative took the keenest interest. As the reader will recall, one of the first things he did, after regaining his health and the arrival of Father Stokes, was to establish a school. Tradition tells us that it was first started in the little frame building which stood beside

[6] Father Stokes' letter to the *Advocate,* as in note 2, and the *Almanacs* of 1841 and 1842 show that the seminary was called Saint Joseph's at first.

Holy Rosary Cathedral on Capitol Hill; but on his return from abroad the bishop erected a larger structure of the same material near his residence, and removed the classes thither. It stood at 122 North Market Street.[7] The seminarians are said to have been the principal teachers, at the start at least; yet the priests also gave a part of their time to this work.

The *Catholic Almanac* for 1843 states: "Attached to the seminary is an academy for boys, in which, besides mathematics and the ordinary branches of a good English education, the Greek, Latin, Italian, French and Spanish languages are carefully taught. The religious instruction of Catholic pupils *only* is attended to, and every facility [is] afforded for the improvement of the mind and the cultivation of virtue. The academy is conducted by ecclesiastics under the superintendence of the Rev. Superior of the seminary." The *Almanac* for 1844 tells us practically the same, except that it states the institution "is conducted by clergymen and seminarists under the direction of the Right Rev. Bishop Miles."[8]

It would seem that about this time the zealous prelate must have made a suggestion that the Jesuits Fathers in Kentucky should take over his college; but, after a consultation with him, they felt that Nashville did not hold out a sufficiently good prospect of success.[9] Early in the same year (1844), either Father Edward Sorin offered of his own accord to let him have some Brothers of the Holy Cross, then called the Brothers of Saint Joseph, for his parochial school, or gave a favorable

[7] *Directories* as in note 4.
[8] *Almanac* for 1843, pp. 105-106; for 1844, p. 144.
[9] Thebaud, *Three Quarters of a Century*, III, 264.

reply to an appeal for such aid. In any case, on the ninth of April, that year, the sorely tried bishop wrote to Father Sorin:

Your favour of the 5th ult. came to hand in due time, the acknowledgment of which has been delayed for some time in consequence of my absence from home. I have long wished to have some of the Brothers of St. Joseph in my Diocese, and am glad to indulge the hope that my wish may be realized. Should it be possible to send me some, please inform me in order that I may make preparations for them. I will cheerfully bear their travelling expenses and give the annual pension you demand. . . .[10]

Then he answers some questions asked by Father Sorin, and closes his letter with these words: "I am decidedly of the opinion that this excellent institute should not be confined to any one place, but that it should be spread as widely as possible, convinced that the most beneficial results will follow from it." Evidently, these fair prospects gave Bishop Miles much pleasure, which perhaps made his disappointment all the keener. December 15, 1844, he wrote another letter to Father Sorin, in which he says:

Some time in the spring you honoured me with a letter respecting the institution over which you preside, and gave me hopes that I should be able to obtain two of the Brothers of St. Joseph for Nashville. I immediately replied, and expressed my wishes to have them, since which I have heard nothing on the subject. I would consider it a great favour, if you would be kind enough, at your first leisure, to drop me a line stating whether I may hope to have the aid of those good Brothers.[11]

Doubtless Father Sorin thought it unwise to accept a place so far from home which could support only two brothers. Thus Bishop Miles was obliged to conduct

10 Notre Dame Archives.

11 *Ibid.* Evidently the bishop had forgotten the delay in his reply caused by absence from home.

his school with a secular staff. The college, or "male academy," ceased with the close of the seminary; for, without the aid of ecclesiastical students, his limited means rendered it impossible to carry it on any longer. However, the building was at once turned into a private school for the sons of the better-to-do Catholics who did not wish to send their children to the more common parochial school.

Despite the failures of Bishops Flaget and Rosati along the same line under far more favorable auspices, Bishop Miles now assayed the establishment of an order of teaching brothers, whom he called the Brothers of Saint Patrick. This was hoping almost against hope. Still his private school prospered under this tentative religious institute for five or six years later. Then, principally for want of vocations, the brothers disbanded. Somewhat later, September 4, 1854, the anxious prelate wrote a letter of strong appeal to Bishop Spalding to let him have a few members of the newly established Xaverian Brothers who had come from Belgium, so that he might place them in charge of his private school. As none could be spared, the holy man was again obliged to engage secular teachers.[12]

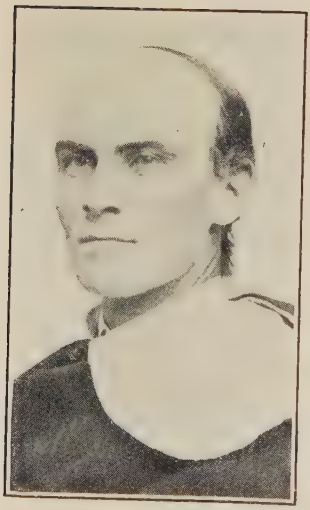
Nevertheless, the Father of the Church in Tennessee managed to keep this school going in a most creditable manner until his death. The early *Nashville Directories* tell their readers: "Bishop Miles' school is ably conducted."[13] Under his watchful care, it could hardly have been otherwise. Tradition informs us that men of note in every profession were either wholly educated in his college, or started on their way of success in his

[12] Louisville Archives.

[13] See note four.

VERY REV.
SAMUEL L. MONTGOMERY,
O. P.

REV. JAMES A. ORENGO,
O. P.



REV. JOHN A. LYNCH,
O. P.

REV. JANUARIUS M. D'ARCO,
O. P.

FOUR OF THE FRIAR-PREACHER MISSIONARIES IN NASHVILLE AND MIDDLE TENNESSEE UNDER BISHOP MILES

private school. Both rendered invaluable services to religion.

After the establishment of the new community of sisters, these taught the children of both sexes of the poorer classes in the "spacious" rooms under the cathedral, as well as took care of the wealthier girls in Saint Mary's Academy. Again the city *Directories* assure us: "The Sisters of Charity, laborious and self-sacrificing, are doing much to educate the poor." The bishop, however, paid these laborers their salaries; for, as a just man, he saw that every toiler received his wages—would permit no meritorious deed to go unrequited.

Indeed, the charity of Christ urged His ambassador ever onward. It is this that explains his efforts in behalf of the colored people. Few of his contemporary bishops seem to have taken so keen an interest in that race. Throughout his episcopate, that their lives might thus be rendered happier, no less than that their souls might profit therefrom, he sought to gather around him the few free colored people in Nashville, and as many of the slaves as their masters would allow such a privilege, to give them a rudimentary education, teach them to sing, and instruct them in the principles of Christian doctrine. First, according to tradition, he used the old frame church on the hill for this noble purpose. Afterwards, they were brought to his own house (where the people long attended mass on week days), taken to the cathedral basement, or collected wherever he could find a place for them. Really his efforts in this regard amounted to, as they were called, a "free colored school."[14]

[14] *Catholic Almanac*, year after year.

Father Hoste went to reside at Saint Michael's, Robertson County, in 1846. Shortly afterwards, under the instructions of his bishop, this saintly priest and lover of children erected a building and opened a boarding school in order to accommodate parents who could not afford to patronize an expensive institution. Both boys and girls were admitted here, but they had separate quarters. A matron looked after the girls. Gustave Bouchard, whom Father Hoste seems to have brought over from France for that purpose in 1847, took charge of the boys. Father Hoste exercised a supervision over all; nor did anything escape the watchful, yet kindly, care of the general director, who, as his time permitted, also took part in the teaching. Here, too, orphan boys were collected and taken care of until good homes were found for them, or they were able to provide for themselves.[15]

This institution continued until the stress of missionary work and the bishop's finances obliged him to close it. This was about 1855, when the Sisters of Charity opened a new house in the country, a few miles from Nashville. The boys' orphan asylum was then transferred to this place.[16] During the eight or nine years of its existence, Saint Michael's Academy, as it was called, proved a source of wide-spread good for religion in the diocese. Apparently the intention was to suspend it only temporarily. Even this gave the bishop and Father Hoste no little sorrow. Father Hoste, it is said, hoped to do in Robertson and Sumner counties, Tennessee, what Father Demetrius Gallitzin

[15] These facts are shown by several of the *Almanacs*. In years past we met several people who had been at this school when they were children. They spoke of it in terms of high praise.

[16] *The Sisters of Charity of Leavenworth, Kansas*, p. 28.

had done in Cambria and the surrounding counties of Pennsylvania; nor did he give up the idea until the southland was disrupted by the Civil War.[17]

Bishop Miles evidently believed in the principle that a full Catholic school meant full pews. One can but admire the anxiety with which, when there was question of a new church to be built, he sought to secure enough ground for a school in order that it might be put in operation as soon as the place had a resident pastor. Under his inspiration, Father Hoste continued a parochial school at Saint Michael's, that in Nashville was conducted in the basement of the cathedral, and special buildings were erected for that purpose in Memphis, Chattanooga, and Knoxville at the earliest opportunity.[18]

The impossibility of doing otherwise necessitated the employment of lay teachers in all these places except Nashville, after the new community of the Sisters of Charity had been set on its feet there. However, the pastors were instructed to keep a watchful eye on both pupils and teachers within their jurisdictions. That none might have an excuse for sending their children elsewhere our apostle insisted, despite the expense thus entailed when money was scarce, on these schools being free for all Catholics. Herein, it should be noticed, he set an example which is now followed by many of our bishops, and which the rest would like to see put into practice wherever feasible.[19]

17 Rev. P. J. Gleason, who was once the pastor of Saint Michael's, to Rev. William Walsh, May 14, 1909 (Nashville Archives).

18 This may be seen from various sources.

19 Brother Michael Whelan, O. P., for more than twenty years an efficient lay brother at Saint Rose's, in Kentucky, was a teacher in Father Grace's school at Memphis before he became a religious. He might have

One of the great difficulties against which Bishop Miles had to contend, it will not have been forgotten, was the way in which his little flock was widely scattered here and there, few places having more than five or six families—many even a smaller number. To better this condition, to the end that they might be visited oftener by a priest, he continued his efforts to induce those so unfortunately situated to locate nearer one another, or where there was already a nucleus of faithful which gave better promise of soon having a church. This mayhap explains why the *Almanac* occasionally drops a station that had been mentioned before. Certainly his fatherly advice was followed in some instances.

For the same reason, the holy man centered his attempts to bring Catholic farmers into his diocese on just a few places. Perhaps Morgan County, in east Tennessee, Humphreys County, in middle Tennessee, and the vicinity of Memphis, in west Tennessee, are the most conspicuous examples of his endeavors along this line. He felt, no doubt, that, if he met with success in these places, he could then turn his attention to other parts, and have a better hope of obtaining missionaries for their spiritual care.

Mention has been made of the two circulating libraries established (one in Nashville and another at Saint Michael's), with the many books gathered from different parts of Europe and America. The fathers are said to have had a third in Memphis, which they collected themselves. Bishop Miles showed no little anxiety that all his priests should possess a good library, and that they should be generous in lending books to the public.

entered the Order as a candidate for the priesthood, but he preferred the more humble state of a lay brother.

His idea in this, as regards Protestants, was to let them see for themselves what the Church teaches. Catholics he wished not only to acquire the habit of reading wholesome literature, but also to be able to give a reason for the faith which they professed. Possibly the intelligent Catholicity of Tennessee today is in part due to this apostolate of its first bishop.[20]

Whilst in this, as in all other matters, we should take the luridly-phrased denunciations of fanatics with a liberal reservation, it must still be admitted that in times past the habit of excessive use of strong drink was all too common. Scarcely had Bishop Miles donned the miter, though himself not at all an extremist, when he began a kindly campaign against this vice. Temperance societies were established in the main parishes, with branches in the missions attended from them. That of the cathedral attained a membership of six hundred. Many and appealing were the sermons he preached on this subject; for he would not only safeguard the souls of the faithful, but also have them set an example for their neighbors.

In like manner, the man of God sought in every way to foster religious societies among his people. Although there is no record of it, tradition tells us that he had a flourishing Rosary Confraternity in the cathedral parish. There was another at Memphis. In their choice of societies, however, he seems to have let the pastors follow the bent of their own devotion, with the exception of the Sacred Heart Society and

20 Bishop O'Finan, a Dominican who gave Bishop Miles a number of books, requested that those which came from him should be bequeathed to a house of the Order in the diocese, if there were one there; and if not, to Saint Joseph's Province. Practically no trace of these libraries is now left.

the Archconfraternity of the Immaculate Conception, or of the Sacred Heart of Mary, for the Conversion of Sinners. These two sodalities he had established in about every parish of the diocese.

Bishop Miles' devotion to the Blessed Sacrament is said to have been the tenderest. He loved to pray before his Eucharistic God. For a further proof of his devotion to the Blessed Virgin one has but to consider the fact that nearly half of the churches in the diocese were dedicated to the divine service under her patronage. Clarksville and Sumner County and Knoxville had each its Church of the Immaculate Conception; Jackson its Saint Mary's; Nashville its Church of the Assumption; the first cathedral, on Capitol Hill, was called the Holy Rosary; while to the second was given the name of the Cathedral of the Seven Dolors. It is noteworthy that the church at Clarksville, dedicated in 1844, was one of the earliest in the country designated the Immaculate Conception.

Nowhere in the United States were the clergy more overwhelmed with toil, or had less time at their disposal, than those of Tennessee. Yet its apostolic bishop, in his broad charity, not infrequently had them extend their missionary journeys into northern Alabama, and perhaps into Georgia and southern Kentucky. For some years Florence, Huntsville, Tuscumbia, and Decatur, Alabama, were attended from Nashville for Bishop Portier. From Memphis the Fathers of Saint Dominic long burdened themselves with the northwestern counties of Mississippi and places in eastern Arkansas.

The bishop loved the work of the confessional. Wherever he went, he spent hours in the sacred tribunal of reconciliation. Everywhere, especially in the cathe-

dral, crowds sought his kindly ministrations there; for his wise guidance never failed to bring peace to the soul. In the pulpit, in administering the sacrament of penance, in his conversations, he urged frequent communion. Always did he press the faithful to subscribe for and to read the Catholic papers, convinced as he was that a knowledge of the efforts in behalf of religion in other parts of the country would be an incentive to a better life. One of his keen regrets was that he could not afford to have a paper for his own diocese. Tradition informs us that he published a very practical little catechism which long did excellent service in the state.[21]

Truly the whole story of the early apostolate in Tennessee is one of edifying zeal, self-sacrifice, and even heroism.

[21] We could not discover any copy of this catechism, but the tradition about it is so strong that it leaves no doubt about its publication or its simple excellence.

CHAPTER XXII

THE CROWNING OF A WELL-SPENT LIFE

Even today a traveller from another part of the country in the day coaches in the south is astonished at the frequency with which he hears the Bible and religion form the subject of conversation between the passengers. The arguments are usually earnest and intense. This spirit was still more prevalent three quarters of a century ago. Doubtless Bishop Miles was perforce drawn into such discussions from time to time while on his journeys. Indeed, it has been handed down to us, he was often amused by this stage-coach theology, and deftly sought to use his superior knowledge for bringing those who thus approached him into the true Church.

Oftener than not, however, the man of God failed in these zealous efforts. Nor is the reason far to seek. He possessed all those graces and accomplishments which give charm and elegance to society. As a rule, he found the people of Tennessee full of human kindness, friendly, and good neighbors. They served God sincerely according to their light. They admired the bishop and his clergy no less for their lives than for their gentlemanly qualities and for their higher attainments. Yet, brought up as they were, these people, for the most part, knew the Catholic religion only through perverted

history and the popular jeremiads against the so-called dark ages and the Inquisition.

Thus, although they saw that the few Catholics with whom they came into contact ordinarily had uncommon trust in God, led exemplary lives, and showed great devotion to their religion, as well as earnestness in its requirements, they (the Protestants) understood little about the Catholic faith. It was all but a myth to them—a pillar of cloud not only by day, but by night as well. The doctrine that Christians can get to heaven only by way of the cross, for that was the way by which our Lord and His Blessed Mother journeyed (and we are no better than they), did not appeal to them. To whatever sect they belonged, their creed was deeply ingrained. Under such circumstances few conversions could be expected. Perhaps no one could have made more than did the subject of our narrative.

This inherited religious bias combined with unscrupulous politics and the greed and vaulting ambition of characters with little or no conscience to give birth to Know-nothingism, which attained the height of its strength and influence in 1855 and 1856. On the night of Christmas, 1855, adherents of that party gathered around the cathedral of Nashville, bent on making trouble for the worshippers at the midnight mass. Bishop Miles, having received word of these evil intentions, notified as many as he could that the mass was cancelled, and had some of his friends to patrol the streets and quietly induce all Catholics to return to their homes. He himself kept watch in the sacred edifice, and gave similar directions to those who, because they had not received the information, made their way thither. The rowdies kept up a hideous uproar for a

couple of hours, but dispersed when they discovered that their plot had been frustrated.[1]

Franklin, Murfreesborough, Pulaski, and other places had a number of riots. Knoxville, however, seems to have been the greatest stronghold of Know-nothingism. Here Catholics, and especially those of Irish origin, were accorded the most shameful treatment. Through all these troubles Bishop Miles kept in constant contact with his priests, and it was perhaps through his wise guidance that much harm was prevented.

The greatest trouble of the bishops in the east, north, and new west was to build churches fast enough to accommodate the steady influx of immigrants. Tennessee's apostle had all sorts of difficulties to face. Few priests were willing to bear the hardships of his mission. He had little means with which to erect needed churches, and an insufficient number of clergy for the care of those which he had. Throughout the country the growth of Catholicity was principally through immigration. In Tennessee immigration was a negligible quantity; for the newcomers, as a rule, were not only opposed to the institution of Negro slavery, but also saw little prospect of success where they would be obliged to compete with the colored laborer who received no wages for his toil. Besides, this class of immigrant was not wanted in the south; and he received scant courtesy from the prior occupants of the soil.

Slavery and an antagonistic attitude towards immigration, it is generally admitted, were what prevented a more rapid increase of population in the south. In most of these states, they combined with religious bias

[1] Traditions of this night still live in Nashville.

to retard the growth of the Catholic Church. Only by taking this into consideration can we form a just appreciation of the trials of the bishops in those parts, or rightly understand why they did not accomplish so much as their brethren in the hierarchy who labored in more favorable environments.

Despite obstacles of every sort, and declining health, the Father of the Church in Tennessee strove bravely to do all he could in the cause of God. As early as June 22, 1850, he had sold a part of his land on Water Street (First Avenue) to the Nashville Gas and Light Company. Further debts, it seems, had been necessitated in order to place the new community of sisters on its feet. On September 24, 1855, therefore, he sold another tract to Charles E. Franklin; and September 6, in the same year, he sold his house and the ground on which it stood to the Nashville and Northwestern Railroad.[2] March 26, 1856, Bishop Spalding wrote to Archbishop Purcell:

By the way, the Nazareth Sisters at Nashville have prospered beyond my anticipations. In going to the South, I stopped two days with our brother of Nashville, and visited the seceding branch, which is getting on famously, having already twenty-one members, of whom only three are the original "bolters." I was agreeably disappointed, and I begin to think that "secession", after all, is not so bad. It is well that each Diocese should have a mother house and a novitiate.

I found Bishop Miles in very bad health. His cough is exceedingly troublesome, and I fear that he is not long for this world. He has sold his fine house and lot, and bought what he calls a "rattrap" near his Cathedral. But he congratulates himself that he is at least out of debt.[3]

2 Recorder's Office, Nashville, Deed Book XIII, 494-495; and XXII, 294-295, 362-363.

3 Notre Dame Archives. Two of the earlier sisters had died—Sister Jane Frances on February 18, and Sister Ellen on December 6, 1854. They were the first sisters who died in Nashville.

Busy man as he was, Doctor Spalding's regard for Nashville's saintly prelate was such that he often visited him, in spite of the slow, tiresome travel of the day. Archbishop Purcell held him in no less esteem. March 28, 1856, he wrote, in reply to the above letter: "I am sorry to hear of good Bishop Miles' ill, or threatening state of, health. He was, I think, the best choice for Nashville that could have been made; and the foundation which he has built will surely receive, in God's time, a noble superstructure."[4] This seems to have been the prevailing opinion among the hierarchy, by all of whom he was looked upon as a model of piety, virtue, and zeal, no less than as a most fatherly bishop possessed of splendid judgment and no mean executive ability.

"Whom the Lord loveth He chastiseth," says Saint Paul. Judging Tennessee's apostle by this criterion, one feels that he enjoyed no small measure of divine favor. March 21, 1856, he suffered the loss of another of his zealous priests. Four days later, Father Schacht wrote to the editor of the *Catholic Telegraph*:

Very Rev. dear Sir:—You will oblige us all by publishing in the next issue of the *Catholic Telegraph and Advocate* the death of our dear Rev. Father Augustine Murphy, who died of flux on Good Friday at his mission, about nine miles from this city. The deceased was a native of Ireland; near fifty years of age; a man devoted to God, to prayer, and to the duties of the holy ministry; beloved by all who knew him. His remains were brought to the Cathedral in the night between Good Friday and Holy Saturday, and were surrounded all the time by our afflicted people, whose prayers and tears were the best evidence of their sincere grief. At half past two, P. M., the Right Rev. Bishop recited the Solemn Office of the Dead with his clergy, and then performed the funeral obsequies. You can conceive, Very Rev. dear Sir, what a loss the

[4] Louisville Archives.

death of this good priest is to our poor Diocese. May God send us such another."[5]

A few days later, the holy man's soul was tried perhaps as it had never been tried before, when a historic fire, fanned by a strong wind, destroyed a number of Nashville's public structures, and threatened to include his cathedral, school, and home in its work of devastation.[6] However, like Job, he placed his trust in God, who both gives and takes away with a wisdom that is divine and not to be judged by man. Whatever happened, therefore, he submitted to with an admirable Christian patience, and continued his work with a heart that never lost its courage, and seldom its good cheer.

Despite an ever weakening constitution and a racking cough that often tortured his entire frame, the ambassador of Christ appears to have traversed the whole state again in 1856. Mrs. Mary Dunn, now of Nashville, told us that she was one of a large class, a number of whom were converts, confirmed in Chattanooga that year, while the bishop was on a tour of his diocese. The records of Knoxville give a list of some thirty confirmed there on the sixth of July. Nearly all these latter appear to have been adults, if not even married people, a circumstance which shows that they were late arrivals in the city, and how it was often hard in those days for the faithful to receive that sacrament. Before the close of the year, his missionary forces were weakened by the recall of eloquent Father N. R. Young.

[5] Issue of April 5, 1856. Evidently the body could not be kept until the next morning. We regret that more could not be learned about this excellent priest than has been given in the text. He must either have come directly from abroad to Tennessee, or was ordained late in life for Nashville. Father Schacht's letter to the *Telegraph* is dated March 25, 1856.

[6] *Telegraph,* April 19, 1856.

The work of the next two years was but a repetition of that which we have just outlined. Still, however occupied at home, the zealous bishop's goodness of heart rarely failed to cause him to find, or rather to make, time that he might increase the joy of the occasion by his presence at the consecration of a new member of the hierarchy within the ecclesiastical province of which he was a member, or that in which he had spent a large part of his life—Saint Louis and Cincinnati. Thus we find him in the latter city for the consecration of the Rev. Henry D. Juncker as the first bishop of Alton, Illinois, and the Rev. James F. Wood as coadjutor to Philadelphia, which took place on April 26, 1857, and was one of the most noted church events that had hitherto occurred in the near west.[7]

From Cincinnati the venerable prelate returned to Louisville with his friend, Doctor Spalding, whence he intended to accompany him to Saint Louis a few days later for the consecration, on May the third, of the Rev. James Duggan as coadjutor to Saint Louis, and the Trappist, Father Clement T. Smyth, for the same position in the Diocese of Dubuque. But, on his arrival at Louisville, our patriarch felt so weak that he feared to undertake this further journey. He therefore proceeded to Saint Rose's Priory. Thence, after a short rest, he went back to Nashville.[8]

Evidently, before he left Kentucky on this occasion, Father M. A. O'Brien, then prior at Saint Rose's, persuaded him to return there and officiate on July 5 at a celebration, which must have been to commemorate the

[7] *Telegraph,* May 2, 1857.

[8] Bishop Spalding to Archbishop Purcell, April 30, 1857 (Notre Dame Archives); *Telegraph,* May 2, 1857.

golden jubilee of the erection of the first building of that Dominican alma mater. Very likely, indeed, the idea of these festivities originated in the bishop's visit at the time, and they were largely in his honor. At any rate, on June 2, 1857, he wrote to Doctor Spalding from Nashville:

> I am very much relieved on hearing that you have returned safe home, and must congratulate you on the success of your wild-goose chase. It is an additional pleasure to know also that you will honour us with your presence at St. Rose on the first Sunday in July. Allow me also to crave the favour of using the crozier on that occasion, and to thank you in advance for the same.[9]

Although we discovered no account of this celebration as such, the *Catholic Telegraph* of July 25, 1857, indicates that it was carried out on a rather grand scale. Manifestly Saint Catherine's Academy made the closing exercises of their school a part of the event; for the good sisters, no doubt in honor of their beloved cofounder, did their best that these might be a notable success. Bishop Miles himself presided. Father John De Blieck, S.J., rector of Saint Joseph's College, Bardstown, and Mr. James P. Barbour, both men of distinction, delivered addresses. Doubtless in part because of the occasion, and in part that he might have a much needed relaxation, the bishop spent two weeks or more at his old home. Father Brown, perhaps no less to look after the needs of his esteemed superior than to gratify his own desire to revisit the place where he had received the light of faith, accompanied the venerable apostle on this occasion.

Father James V. Daly took the place of Father Cleary, deceased, at Memphis late in 1855. The Rev. John Scollard came from Princeton, New Jersey, to

[9] Louisville Archives.

join the clergy at Nashville in the summer or early fall of 1857. There too Father John Hyacinth Lynch, O.P., not only soon filled the vacancy created by the recall of Father Young, but was also appointed rector of the cathedral, Father Schacht having resigned that position that he might have more time for the erection of a chapel at the new academy and orphan asylum, and a church in Edgefield (now East Nashville), as well as to make preparations for building another for the Germans in Nashville proper.[10]

On the whole, the progress of the diocese was good. During 1856, Father Orengo finished a church at McEwen, which seems to have supplanted an earlier one in Humphreys County built by Father Schacht,

[10] Daly's first baptism in Memphis at this time is dated December 2, 1855. Scollard's first in Nashville was on September 18, and Lynch's first October 18, 1857.

Father Nicholas Raymond Young was born in the District of Columbia about 1818. He was a nephew of the noted Ohio missionary, Father N. D. Young, and the son of Ignatius and Barbara (Smith) Young. He received the habit of Saint Dominic at Saint Rose's, in Kentucky, from Bishop Miles, then prior, January 23, 1834, and made his religious profession, in the same place and to the same superior, June 28, 1835. In 1838 he was sent to Rome to complete his studies, where he was ordained in 1841. From the time of his return home, late in 1844 or early in 1845, as a Lector in Sacred Theology, he taught the Order's ecclesiastical students in Ohio and Kentucky, was professor in Saint Joseph's College (in the former state), and filled other important positions until he went to Tennessee. On leaving Nashville, he became pastor of Saint Dominic's, Washington City, whence he went to Rome in the spring of 1859. He returned to Washington in 1860, and went back to Ohio the next year. In 1862 he became provincial, but resigned the position two years later, and shortly afterwards was secularized and incardinated into the Diocese of Cincinnati, under his intimate friend, Archbishop Purcell. Here he labored in Dayton and Bellefontaine. Twelve years later, for he ever retained his love and esteem for the Order, he made arrangements to return to it. He then paid a visit to his brother in Washington City, where he died on July 24, 1876, before he could put his design into execution.

and received the same name—Saint Patrick. Father Brown completed Saints Peter and Paul's at Chattanooga before the close of 1857.[11] Tradition, supported by the fact that he would undergo almost any hardship to benefit such occasions by his august presence, tells us that Bishop Miles blessed the two fanes. The church at McEwen was a log structure; the other a frame on a stone foundation. Both were neat and well built. Sometime in the same year (1857), the zealous prelate also purchased a Presbyterian church at a bargain in the thrifty town of Shelbyville, which he was having converted into a Catholic temple of prayer.[12] Father Grace had a fourth ready for dedication in Memphis. A German student was also nearing the end of his studies in the seminary at Cincinnati.

Although the corner-stone of Saint John the Evangelist's, Edgefield, was laid only on November 8, 1857, owing to the good weather and the earnestness of the workmen, it rose so rapidly that Bishop Miles was able to dedicate it on Sunday, December 22.[13] It was a neat Gothic structure, fifty-four feet in length by thirty-four in width. A correspondent of the Baltimore *Catholic Mirror* writes:

On the 8th November, was recorded the laying of the corner stone of the Catholic church in Edgefield, near this city; and I feel much pleasure in having now to state that it is now finished, and has been (on yesterday) solemnly dedicated by our beloved and [venerable?] Right Rev. Bishop, in his usually solemn manner. Owing to the profound respect in which his Lordship is held by all classes of the community, although many non-Catholics were present, nothing occurred during the interesting and edifying cere-

11 For several years the *Almanac* had noted the second church at Chattanooga as under way, but that for 1858 shows that it was then completed.

12 The *Guardian*, November 27, 1858.

13 The *Metropolitan*, December, 1857.

monies to mar the heartfelt satisfaction and pleasure which he must have experienced at this further proof of the increase of Catholicity in his Diocese, to the interest of which he is so entirely devoted.

It was a matter of agreeable surprise and conversation to many, as they left the church, to find that in the short space of a few weeks so neat and substantial a church has sprung up in their midst. It is built of brick in the Gothic style of architecture. No doubt it speaks well for the zeal of the Pastor and the piety of the people to do so much in so short a time, particularly as the church is nearly paid for.[14]

Father Schacht said his midnight mass there for Christmas. On this occasion also, the *Telegraph* of January 9, 1858, tells us, the church was crowded with worshippers, "many of whom were not Catholics, but who vied with their Catholic fellow-citizens in religious and respectful behavior." Continuing the account, it says:

The choir performed Mozart's Twelfth Mass to a delighted congregation, who felt and expressed their pleasure and gratification to all their friends; for, though the Catholics are not many in number, they have long needed a little church, especially in the winter season. And they have now realized, they said, their long cherished hopes. The Right Rev. Bishop has (on the 12th of October last) charged the Rev. I. Schacht with the new mission, where much remains to be done, it being the terminus of three different railroads, where several Catholic families will find employment.[15]

Together with Saint John's, the industrious missionary busied himself with another sacred work. This was also outside the city. Of the celebration of the

[14] Issue of January 9, 1858.

[15] Both in this quotation and in that which immediately follows Father Schacht's initial is J. Evidently he himself wrote the account, and this error was caused by the fact that he made the capital I exactly like the capital J. We corrected the mistake in both instances.

feast of our Lord's Nativity there the *Telegraph's* correspondent writes:

On the same Christmas morning, Rev. I. Schacht opened the chapel at the new Academy of the Sisters of Charity three and a half miles from Nashville, on the White's Creek Turnpike, and celebrated therein his second Mass on Christmas Day. The little sanctuary was most tastefully decorated by the good sisters, and they sang several hymns during the celebration of the Holy Sacrifice. The neighboring Catholics who were present approached Holy Communion after the community. You see, Messrs. Editors, that we are endeavoring to do something nowithstanding the many difficulties we labor under in this Diocese.

Hardly had our aged prelate recovered from the fatigue caused by the hard labor of the Christmas season, when he started for Memphis, accompanied by Fathers Montgomery and Lynch. The object of this journey was to dedicate the new Church of Saints Peter and Paul (January 24), and to administer the sacrament of confirmation. In an account of the ceremony, a southern contributor to the *Telegraph* of January 30, 1858, writes:

The dedication of the new Catholic church on Sunday last was witnessed by one of the largest assemblages of citizens that we remember ever to have seen on any religious occasion in our city. The service of dedication was performed by the Right Rev. Bishop of the Diocese, Doctor Miles, assisted by Rev. T. L. Grace of Memphis, and Rev. S. L. Montgomery of Nashville. The ceremonies were most imposing, and had a striking effect upon all present, particularly when the procession, after moving around the exterior of the edifice, advanced through the great door up the nave to the High Altar. After the blessing of the church, a Solemn High Mass was performed by the Very Rev. T. J. Jarboe of Wisconsin, assisted by the Rev. J. V. Daly and the Rev. J. H. Lynch as deacon and subdeacon.

Among those in the sanctuary were the Right Revs. William Henry Elder of Natchez and Martin J.

Spalding of Louisville, the latter of whom preached at the Gospel. After vespers, in the afternoon, Bishop Miles, in his characteristically edifying manner, confirmed a class of more than a hundred—among them a number of converts. Doctor Elder delivered a sermon. The day closed with benediction in the evening and an eloquent discourse by the Louisville prelate. At all these services the church was crowded by an audience who conducted themselves with the utmost decorum.

Saints Peter and Paul's was largely the work of Father Grace, who had been pastor from 1849, and vicar general for the western part of the diocese from 1856 or 1857. Few clergymen in the country enjoyed so great a reputation for learning, zeal, eloquence, and prudence. Every notice of the church he had built which one sees in the literature of the day, whether in the form of a letter or an article in print, speaks of its exquisite beauty. The stately brick Gothic structure is still regarded as one of the finest ecclesiastical edifices of the south.

In point of numbers the Catholicity of Memphis had by this time perhaps overtaken, if not even outstripped, that of Nashville. Saint Peter's was now a flourishing parish. German members of the faith had considerably increased, had a pastor (Father Gangloff) specially for themselves, and were anxiously awaiting the day when they could afford to have a church of their own. The records also show the beginning of that splendid Italian element which was later to play an important part in the religious affairs of the city.

Bishop Miles, it will be recalled, would have preferred to be placed in the ecclesiastical province of Cincinnati.

INTERIOR AND EXTERIOR OF SAINT PETER'S

MEMPHIS' SECOND CHURCH, AND STILL ITS MOST BEAUTIFUL

His clergy seem to have felt the same way—possibly more for reasons of convenience than anything else, as the development of the country lay at that time. Now therefore, since a number of suffragan dioceses had been erected under the metropolitan see of Saint Louis, he consulted Archbishop Peter R. Kenrick, and obtained his consent that Tennessee should be taken from the Province of Saint Louis and affiliated to that of Cincinnati. But, of course, this change could not take effect without the sanction of Rome. Accordingly, April 5, 1858, the man of God wrote to acquaint Archbishop Purcell with the matter.[16] The reply must have been both swift and strongly favorable; for on the thirteenth of the same month he wrote again:

> Your very kind welcome to my old home has filled my heart with gratitude; and my trip to Cincinnati will be one of the most pleasant in my recollection. I thank you for your kindness in offering me a room in your house, and cheerfully accept it. The room at the head of the stairs, in which I have spent many happy hours, would suit me "to a fraction." Whilst I am very grateful to Mr. Slevin and Lady for their kind offer of hospitality, I beg leave to say that it is too far from the Cathedral for my comfort. . . .[17]

Doubtless Archbishop Purcell's prompt response was due to his anxiety to have his life-long friend in his province, and his desire that he should be at hand when the affair came up for consideration at the provincial council of Cincinnati which was to convene on the second day of May. The kindness of the metropolitan's offer of a room in his own house at this time may be gauged by the fact that it was not large enough to accommodate all the bishops of the province who

16 Notre Dame Archives.
17 *Ibid.*

would attend the council, and the subject of our narrative had no legal right to be there. Indeed, wherever he went, his own native goodness seems to have caused Nashville's prelate to be accorded some special regard. Possibly Archbishop Purcell procured him the offer of Mr. Slevin's hospitality that he might avail himself of it, in case he should not like to be so closely associated with the fathers of a conciliar body of which he was not a member.

In any event, he soon started for Cincinnati, accompanied by Father Schacht. He remained in the city until after the close of the council, but took no part in its deliberations, although he was no doubt invited to its sessions. While there, he preached in the cathedral, and gave a discourse to its school children.[18]

The overworked apostle had long desired and sought to obtain a coadjutor. Doubtless, therefore, as he felt that he would soon be out of the ecclesiastical province of Saint Louis, was borne down with age and broken in health, and did not believe that he had long to live, it was in Cincinnati that he wrote to Pius IX, begging this favor. Father N. R. Young, who had already labored in Tennessee, was the first on his list. Father Sydney Albert Clarkson, prior of Saint Rose's, in Kentucky, was second. Then came Father James Whelan, provincial at the time. The reason why he proposed only Dominicans for the position was that more than half of the priests in the diocese belonged to the Order, that this religious institute had always aided him at a great sacrifice, that the Church of Tennessee was very poor, and that the fact of its first bishop having been a member of the Order would, in case

[18] *Telegraph*, April 24 and May 1, 8, and 15, 1858.

his successor were taken from it, cause it to continue its heroic sacrifices in behalf of religion there.[19]

Father Brown, because a convert, the holy man no doubt felt had not yet been long enough ordained to be elevated to the episcopal dignity; Father Grace, he well knew, would not accept the honor of the miter without compulsion; humble Father Hoste, who spoke English very indistinctly, would have recoiled from such a responsibility with his whole soul; and Father Schacht, despite his talents and capacity for work, lacked qualities necessary for a good bishop. The others were either too young in the ministry or too imperfectly acquainted with the language of the land. These considerations, there can be little doubt, explain why no priest of the diocese was placed on the list. Probably another reason was the hope that the appointment of an outsider might result in bringing more missionaries into Tennessee.

That Bishop Miles submitted his petition to the provincial council of Cincinnati is evidenced by a letter of Archbishop Purcell to the prefect of the Propaganda of date May 9, 1858. In this document the metropolitan says that he prefers Father Young for the place, and that the Right Rev. Peter Paul Lefevre, administrator of Detroit, objected to only Dominicans being placed on the list. Others seem to have been added by the fathers of the council, but we could not learn who they were.[20] Evidently some influence not that of Bishop Miles determined the appointment of Father Whelan—or was it perhaps the fact that his name had been previously sent to Rome in connection with other vacant

19 A draft of his letter in the Notre Dame Archives. It is not dated, but circumstances leave little or no doubt that it was written in Cincinnati at this time.

20 A draft or copy in the Notre Dame Archives.

sees? The tradition of Saint Joseph's Province has always attributed it to Archbishop Purcell.

Our apostle did not tarry long in Cincinnati. On his homeward journey he seems to have stopped at Louisville and Saint Rose's. A communication from Nashville, May 24, 1858, to the *Guardian* says:

> As an item of ecclesiastical intelligence, I have no doubt that many of your readers will be glad to hear that our venerable Bishop, Right Rev. Doctor Miles, has returned home in good health from his short visit to Ohio and Kentucky, the scenes of his former many labors and triumphs. It afforded much pleasure to his affectionate flock, on yesterday (Pentecost Sunday), to witness with what solemn and impressive dignity he administered the Sacrament of Confirmation to those of the children who were prepared to receive that consoling and strengthening rite.[21]

Bishop Miles' rule was one of patience, kindness, forbearance, and discretion. No one could be freer from the charge of favoritism. Never did he act with impetuosity. He sought first to correct a transgressor by gentle advice, rather than by infliction of punishment; and rarely did his efforts fail. Still, when he felt it necessary, he could be firm and unbending. Now his calm spirit was to be subjected to a test such as perhaps it had never experienced before.

A strong tradition, which is rather corroborated even by the *History of the Sisters of Charity of Leavenworth,* has it that for some time the gentle prelate had admonished Father Schacht of certain unwise actions, and exhorted him to be more prudent; but his paternal advice was neither heeded nor kindly taken.[22] Shortly after his return from Cincinnati, he learned that Father Schacht was using a glass goblet for a chalice at the academy and orphan asylum on White's Creek Turn-

[21] Issue of June 5, 1858. [22] Page 33.

pike. The distressed bishop lost no time, as he was bound in conscience to do, in ordering a discontinuance of this flagrant and unpardonable transgression. Father Schacht, however, not only defended himself, but even continued to use the goblet at mass.[23] Although he must have felt that he was now obliged to take severe measures, Bishop Miles did not wish to do this without first consulting another member of the hierarchy. Accordingly, July 27, 1858, he wrote to his friend, Doctor Spalding of Louisville:

Please pardon me for troubling you at this moment, and allow me to lay before you a case that has given me much anxiety. I would then ask what should I do with a priest that has dared to offer up the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass without a chalice, using a glass phial in its stead? There was not even the slightest necessity for so doing; and surely no case whatever could excuse or even palliate the sacrilege. If Monseigneur will be kind enough to give me his opinion on this subject, he will greatly oblige me. Does not the culprit deserve suspension?[24]

The trembling hand in which the document is written reveals the anguish of mind caused our apostle by this distressful incident. Bishop Spalding was not slow to advise the penalty of suspension. When it was inflicted, Father Schacht almost aroused a schism by a vociferous appeal to his friends, and even went in high dudgeon to Saint Louis in order to have Archbishop Kenrick cancel the sentence. Possibly the recalcitrant clergyman thought he could frighten his aged and infirm

[23] This affair is an old tradition. The late Father Eugene Gazzo often spoke of it to the writer. He received direct information of the incident from Father Orengo who was a missionary in Tennessee when it occurred. We have before us a document which shows that the sisters knew all about the use of a goblet for a chalice in their house, and the trouble which it caused Father Schacht.

[24] Louisville Archives—photostat copy in those of Saint Joseph's Province.

superior. In his anger, the missionary, though he should have learned by long association, forgot Bishop Miles' strength of will and firmness of character, as well as his courage of conviction. Adamantine was his stand; neither could it have been otherwise. The metropolitan, as might have been foreseen, showed Father Schacht scant courtesy. However, he was too proud to bend. August 25, 1858, Bishop Miles wrote again to Doctor Spalding:

> Allow me to thank you, though late, for your very kind and prompt attention to my late request. I have acted upon it, and the consequence is that our congregations at Nashville are at loggerheads ever since. The persecuted gentleman went to St. Louis with flying colours, leaving his duped followers under the full conviction that the Archbishop would restore him. He returned, however, with colours at rather less than half-mast. He is here yet; and the people are greatly excited, and will remain so as long as he is among them. I go next week to the Provincial Council, and should not be surprised to meet him there. I hope to see you at home in a few weeks, when I shall take occasion to explain the whole matter.[25]

Mother Xavier Ross, there is but little room for doubt, was among those who took sides with her friend and counsellor, Father Schacht, in his rebellion against his bishop, one of the kindliest and most benevolent of men. Naturally this alienated Bishop Miles' affections from a community upon whom he had bestowed no little tender care. It also looks very much as if Father Schacht, now that he had to go, urged the sisters to do the same, and they followed his advice. These were the things, and not their debts, as represented in their history, which led to the departure of the sisters from Nashville.[26]

[25] Original and photostat copy as in the preceding note.

[26] There is abundant evidence of the high regard in which Bishop Miles held this community until this time. The *History of the Sisters of Charity*

The second provincial council of Saint Louis assembled in that city on September 19, 1858. Bishop Miles had to attend, for Rome had not sanctioned the incorporation of Nashville in the Province of Cincinnati. We do not know if Father Schacht went to the council, as Bishop Miles thought he might. But Mother Xavier Ross, the *History of the Sisters of Charity of Leavenworth* assures us, did go; nor is it any stretch of fancy to suppose that she acted on the advice of Father Schacht.[27] There she was fortunate enough to be offered a place in Leavenworth by Bishop Miége, who was in need of sisters. Bishop Miles, for he knew that the days of her usefulness in Nashville were at an end, quite naturally made no objection to the arrangement. No doubt, indeed, he even welcomed it as a happy solution of the difficulty. It is scarcely probable that Doctor Miége took in her and her companions without consulting their former bishop.

Quite possibly the Father of the Church in Tennessee, in his goodness of heart, even persuaded Bishop Miége to extend Father Schacht an offer of hospitality in his

of Leavenworth (pages 32-33) would have us believe that Bishop Miles authorized Father Schacht to use money on deposit at the cathedral for the erection of a new academy in the country; and then, when the trouble came, he (the bishop) refused to be responsible for debts which he had sanctioned. There is no evidence for this charge of cruelty and injustice. Indeed, the whole story of the bishop's life shows that there could scarcely have been any deposits at the cathedral, for he was practically always in debt. Besides, Father Schacht seems to have troubled himself little about permissions. He did things pretty much as he liked. He, not the bishop, was responsible for the sisters' debts. He, not the bishop, should have assumed their burden—especially, as this history tells us, it would have been only a matter of a short time when the debt could have been paid. It strikes one as quite strange that, according to this history, Bishop Miles was wholly within his rights at the time of the separation from Nazareth, and totally in the wrong when the latter difficulty arose.

27 Page 44.

diocese. At any rate, we find the former pastor of the Seven Dolors Cathedral, Nashville, in Kansas before the close of 1858. In Leavenworth the sisters met with extraordinary success, for which God be praised. Tennessee's loss was Kansas' gain. However, under the circumstances, Bishop Miles could not well have done otherwise than he did. Our greatest regret in the matter is that, in their history, they saw fit to lay practically the entire blame for the difficulty on him, when the evidence places it elsewhere; and that this obliged us to go into the story more fully than we liked.[28]

Still, while he could but deeply regret the loss of these efficient workers, the man of God had every reason to congratulate himself. Through the more than twenty-one years of his episcopate we found no other trace of shock or scandal, a record of which any bishop might be justly proud. Few chief pastors gain so strong a hold on the hearts of their clergy and people as did the first of Nashville. Doubtless it was this that enabled him to keep his equipoise at so trying a moment.

Father Grace, vicar general for western Tennessee, accompanied him to the council in Saint Louis as theo-

28 About the time of the arrival of Father Schacht in Kansas see Kinsella's *A Centenary of Catholicity in Kansas*, p. 89.

Father Ivo Schacht was born in Bruges, Belgium, in 1821, and was principally educated in his native land. The appeal of Bishop Miles for missionaries, at the time of his visit abroad, brought him to this country. From Kansas he went to Kentucky in 1861 or 1862. There he labored hard and faithfully at Saint Alphonsus' (Daviess County), Lebanon, Paducah, and Owensboro, dying in the last named place, April 14, 1874. The *Owensboro Monitor* of April 22, and the resurrected *Catholic Advocate* (Louisville) of April 23, 1874, gave good accounts of his life and labors. Wherever he toiled, he was popular among the people. It is a pity that an earlier spirit of unruliness, into which he was probably led by a popularity that came while he was young, cut short his efficient work in Nashville.

logian, where he again met his old friend, Father J. T. Jarboe, who represented the Friars Preacher there. After his return home, and the departure of the sisters who went to Kansas, the bishop, continuing the even tenor of his ways, made arrangements by which those who remained loyal were placed in charge of the Hospital of the State of Tennessee located at Nashville. With these he hoped to begin anew, trusting that in time they would be able to resume all their charitable and educational works. But his successor, perhaps wisely in view of the late troubles, persuaded them to become affiliated with other communities, and brought in Dominican Sisters in their stead.[29]

Meanwhile, John Anthony Vogel, a seminarian obtained from Bishop Spalding, had been brought from Mount Saint Mary's, Cincinnati, that he might instruct the Germans while completing his studies under Father S. L. Montgomery. On Sunday, October 17, 1858, Bishop Miles ordained him, and placed him in charge of the German portion of the cathedral parish. Before his ordination, the young priest had begun a church for those of that nationality, for which he now collected means in various parts of the country. Of an artistic temperament as well as of a practical mind, he was architect, contractor, and superintendent of the structure all in one.[30]

Father Brown had by this time completely metamorphosed the brick Presbyterian church purchased in Shelbyville the previous year. The exterior had been

29 An account of his own administration by Bishop James Whelan in the Nashville Archives; *Catholic Almanac*, 1860, and 1861.

30 Bishop Miles to Bishop Spalding, February 18, 1857 (Louisville Archives); same to Archbishop Blanc, February 22, 1859 (Notre Dame Archives); the *Guardian*, October 23 and 30, 1858, and August 27, 1859.

renovated, the interior painted and re-arranged, and the old-time weathercock and pawnbroker's balls on the cupola supplanted by a handsome cross, so that the former fortress of error no longer recognized itself, it looked so much like a new Catholic temple of worship. Father Biemans came from Knoxville to say the first mass in it on Sunday, September 19, 1858. Father Brown preached at the mass, and Father Biemans at vespers. The choir of the cathedral furnished the music. Bishop Miles could not be present because he was at the council in Saint Louis. Doubtless this was why the ceremony of dedication was deferred until the next year.[31]

There is every indication (and it was only natural that he should) that Bishop Miles again brought up the subject of a coadjutor at the council of Saint Louis, for he was still in that province. Possibly Father Whelan was put first on the list there, for he was the best known of the three Friars Preacher selected by Nashville's incumbent, while he was also a native of Ireland, like Archbishop Kenrick. Such things sometimes count even in matters of religion. Early in the next year, our apostle learned that Rome had decided he should remain a suffragan of Saint Louis, but at the same time he received the consolation of an assurance that he would soon have a coadjutor.[32]

31 The *Guardian*, November 27, 1858.

32 Archbishop Purcell to Bishop Spalding, January 3, 1859 (Louisville Archives). The *Mirror* of October 9, 1858, as do other papers, gives a long account of this council. The *Telegraph* of the same date contains the pastoral of its bishops; and the *Annales*, XX, 1-2, print their letter of thanks and gratitude to the Society for the Propagation of the faith.

Bishop Patrick A. Feehan, who was appointed to Nashville from Saint Louis, eventually succeeded in having Tennessee made a part of the Province of Cincinnati.

One can readily imagine that the man of God was deeply rejoiced at this latter information, and that he prayed heartily for a worthy successor, whoever he might be, who would build well on the foundations which he himself had laid with such great pains. He had not long to wait, if we consider the slow mails of the day together with Rome's well-known policy of deliberation; for, on March 15, 1859, Father James Whelan, O.P., received the bulls of his appointment as coadjutor of Nashville, and was given the written consent of his provincial, Father Joseph A. Kelly, to accept the nomination on Easter Sunday, the twenty-fourth of April.[33]

Father James Michael O'Gorman, prior of the Trappist Monastery of New Melleray, near Dubuque, Iowa, had been appointed vicar apostolic of Nebraska and titular bishop of Raphanea about the same time. The consecration of the two prelates took place in Saint Louis, May 8, 1859. Archbishop Kenrick performed the ceremony, in which he was assisted by Bishops Miége, S.J., and Smyth, O.C.R., the latter of whom also preached the sermon for the occasion. Besides many priests, Bishops Juncker and Duggan also honored the event with their presence.[34] One of his frequent sudden attacks of sickness prevented Bishop Miles from attending. Perhaps, however, not even the newly consecrated were more deeply interested. At

[33] Father Kelly's diary.

[34] Father Kelly's diary; the Saint Louis *Missouri Republican,* April 10, 1859. Kelly's diary shows that his own name had been sent to Rome on the list from which to select a bishop for the quondam Diocese of Grass Valley, California, and substantiates the old tradition that the Saint Louis council proposed Father Jarboe for one of the new dioceses which it asked to be erected. It is an accepted tradition in Saint Joseph's Province and in Tennessee that only Father Jarboe's deafness prevented him from becoming a bishop.

home he sent up his prayers to heaven for them. As far as we are aware, this was the only occasion on which two members of religious orders were anointed bishops at one time in the United States, and the only event of the kind in which four prelates of religious orders took part—a Dominican, a Jesuit, and two Cistercians.

Because of Bishop Miles' illness, the coadjutor of Nashville, although he hurried to the episcopal city immediately after his consecration, could not be publicly inducted into his new post of duty until three weeks later. A correspondent of the *Guardian,* most likely the Rev. H. V. Brown, writes to that paper from Chattanooga, June 4, 1859:

On Sunday, May 29, I was in Nashville, and had the good fortune to witness, in the Cathedral, the installation, by Bishop Miles, of his coadjutor, Right Rev. James Whelan. Immediately before High Mass, the two Bishops, with several attendant Priests and acolytes, entered the sanctuary, and having knelt before the high altar in silent prayer, took their appropriate places. The venerable Bishop Miles, standing on his throne, proceeded at once to introduce to the large congregation his coadjutor, the future Bishop of Nashville, as one whom he had long known, in whom he had every confidence, and whom he had urgently presented for the office, and heartily recommended to the love and obedience of the Catholics of Tennessee.

"I cheerfully surrender to him," said he, "as well the consolations as the labors, cares, and responsibilities of the Episcopacy. I give up to him all but my title and chair, which I am not at liberty to relinquish while I live." He glanced briefly at the time of his arrival in Nashville, the dreary and discouraging circumstances by which he was then surrounded, as contrasted with the present condition of affairs, so full of hope for the rapid progress of our holy religion. He said that he had long and ardently desired and sought the assistance of a coadjutor, which his advanced age and increasing infirmities rendered so necessary,

and congratulated himself and his hearers that the choice had fallen upon one every way so worthy.

The aged prelate spoke slowly, in a low and tremulous tone of voice, broken sometimes by his efforts to restrain his emotions. He sat down amid the profoundest silence, and numerous evidences of deep feeling on the part of his auditors.[35]

Another communication from Nashville tells us that the bishop's discourse brought tears to every eye.[36] Both writers pronounce Bishop Whelan's reply happy in the extreme, and say his address "made a visible and strong impression, and was exceedingly well received by all who heard it." At the Gospel he also preached a superb sermon, which no one could but admire. Father Brown (for he was at the installation, and no other would have written from Chattanooga), after telling about Bishop Whelan's sermon, closes his article in this way:

But while we admire him, and wish him every success and happiness, we will not forget the many labors and sacrifices of Bishop Miles, through whose instrumentality everything so far done for the Church in Tennessee has been accomplished. We owe him a debt of gratitude we can never repay. We wish him length of days, a serene and happy old age, and a glorious immortality.

This must have been a happy day for Bishop Miles, for he had now realized a long-cherished desire, and seen how his successor had won the hearts of the people. On Sunday, June 12, Bishop Whelan preached again at the mass, at the close of which he administered confirmation and delivered a sermon on that sacrament. Again, to the joy of Bishop Miles, the cathedral parish was electrified by the coadjutor's learning and eloquence. In connection with the account of this event, the Nashville

35 Issue of June 18, 1859.

36 The *Guardian*, June 11, 1859.

correspondent writes: "The Catholics of the Diocese of Nashville owe our venerable Bishop an everlasting debt of gratitude, not only for his successful efforts in behalf of religion during the many years of his episcopacy, but also for giving us so good and kind a Father as the Right Rev. Bishop Whelan." [37]

The diocesan schools, though they were all now taught by lay persons, were in a flourishing condition. Saint Agnes' Academy, conducted by the Dominican Sisters in Memphis, had a large attendance, and had attained a wide reputation for its efficiency. The orphan asylum there was a blessing to the city and western Tennessee.

Father Daly had been called to other parts by his provincial in February or March, 1858; but Father Stephen Byrne forthwith took his place at Memphis. Father Januarius M. D'Arco accompanied Bishop Whelan to Nashville; and Father Lynch became pastor of Saint Peter's, in the Bluff City, in lieu of Father Grace who had been obliged by Rome, in spite of his strong reluctance, to accept the miter of Saint Paul, Minnesota. In the fall of the same year (1859), Memphis received another recruit in the person of Father John Thomas Nealis. Father James A. Marschal (or Marshall), a Dominican missionary apostolic from the Polish-Prussian Province who had labored in various dioceses of the United States, joined the clerical forces of Tennessee in the same year. He was stationed at Clarksville.[38] The bishop had established

[37] The *Guardian*, June 18, 1859.

[38] Father Lynch's last baptism at Nashville was on May 10, 1859, and Father D'Arco's first on August 9. Father Daly's last at Memphis was on February 8, 1858, and Father Byrne's first on March 29. Father Lynch's first in Memphis was on July 3, and Father Nealis' first on September 17,

REV. ANTHONY R. GANGLOFF, O. P.

REV. JAMES V. DALY, O. P.

REV. STEPHEN BYRNE, O. P.

REV. JOHN T. NEALIS, O. P.

FOUR OF THE EARLY FRIAR-PREACHER MISSIONARIES IN MEMPHIS AND WESTERN TENNESSEE

a board of diocesan counsellors in 1858 composed of Fathers Montgomery, V.G., Hoste, Scollard, and Lynch.

Thus, all in all, the diocese was well organized, had at last been placed on a firm footing, and held out good promise for the future. Bishop Miles might, therefore, now that he had a coadjutor, reasonably have availed himself of a well-earned right to rest and repose. But the ever alert mind of our venerable patriarch united with an unbounded zeal to urge him on to action, if he was able to be about.

Father Grace's name had been sent to Rome in connection with several American sees. By the last provincial council of Saint Louis he was proposed as the second bishop of Saint Paul, the Rev. Anthony Pelamourgues, vicar general of Dubuque, having declined the place. Father Grace returned the bulls of his appointment at once; but in early June, 1859, he received them the second time with a positive command to accept. He was consecrated by Archbishop Kenrick in Saint Louis on the twenty-fourth of July. Bishops Miles and Duggan acted as assistant consecrators, the

1859. We did not inspect the records at Clarksville, and hence do not know just when Father Marschal took charge there.

Father James Vincent Daly was born in Ballygawley, County Tyrone, Ireland, December 25, 1816. His parents were Patrick and Mary (Keen) Daly. He was practically ready for the priesthood when he received the Dominican habit at Saint Joseph's, in Ohio, January 18, 1845. There he made his religious profession on January 23, 1846, and was ordained by Archbishop Eccleston on June 20, 1848. Few priests have had a busier life than he; while many parts of the country felt the beneficial effects of his consuming zeal. The greater part of his time, after leaving Memphis, was given to parochial missions. Everywhere his strong, logical sermons were listened to with breathless silence. He died in New York City, July 3, 1881. Had he lived a little longer, he would have been one of his province's first Preachers General.

latter of whom also preached the sermon. Bishops Henni, Juncker, and Whelan and a large number of priests filled the sanctuary.[39]

39 Father Kelly's diary; Reuss, *Biographical Cyclopedia*, p. 50. Father Kelly does not mention Bishop Miles' presence; but, because of a storm which delayed his boat from Memphis, he did not reach Saint Louis until after the ceremony. Probably he did not see the aged prelate, who had perhaps retired to his room, and so did not think of him. In fact, the diary does not say who were the assistant consecrators. Reuss, who claims that he got his data from Archbishop Grace himself, says positively that Bishops Miles and Duggan were the co-consecrators. No other account that we have seen gives either the bishops present or those who were assistants in the consecration.

Archbishop Thomas Langdon Grace, all the authorities tell us, was born in Charleston, South Carolina, November, 16, 1814, and was the first native of that state to become either a priest or a bishop. Some years ago, we showed the late Archbishop Ireland a statement in the Profession Book of Saint Rose's, in Kentucky, that Doctor Grace was born in Pennsylvania; but he said that it was an error occasioned by the fact that Pierce Grace, the father, went from that state to Cincinnati shortly before the son went to Saint Rose's. Archbishop Grace's father, a man of considerable education, was a teacher by profession, but served as an officer in the American army during the war of 1812-1814. He gave all his children a splendid education.

The archbishop went to Saint Rose's from Bishop Fenwick's college in Cincinnati, received the habit of Saint Dominic, June 10, 1830, and made his religious profession on June 12, 1831. In 1838 he was sent to Rome, where he was ordained on December 21, 1839. Returning home late in 1844, or early in 1845, with the Dominican degree of S. T. Lr., he was stationed at Saint Rose's until he went to Memphis. Here he won the hearts of all by his zeal, virtues, and priestly deportment, as well as by his kindly manners, charity, manly spirit, learning, and eloquence. Memphis has yet to have any clergyman who has been more generally or profoundly loved, admired, and esteemed than was he. After he became a bishop, he gave his whole heart and soul to his diocese. Rarely did he leave its confines except on urgent business or necessity. On one occasion, he started for Rome to plead that Father John Ireland, whom he wished to have for his own successor, might not be appointed to another see. When he reached Lourdes, he received word that his petition had been granted. Immediately, he turned his steps towards his beloved diocese. He was one of the staunchest advisers of the establishment of an American Catholic University in the nation's capital. In 1884 he resigned his bishopric, and in 1888 was appointed titular archbishop of Siunia. He died on February 22, 1897.

Our apostolic chief pastor had long desired to have a church for his beloved Germans in Nashville. As early as April 3, 1857, he sold the land on which stood Saint John's Hospital (the former Holy Rosary Cathedral, on Capitol Hill) to the State of Tennessee which wanted it for public purposes.[40] Before the sale of this ground, which he knew the government would soon demand, he took down the structure and stored away the materials for a German church. The sacred edifice, now practically completed, was a neat and substantial brick building, Gothic in architecture, ninety-eight feet in length by fifty in width, with an interior height of forty-five feet. From Saint Louis he hurried back home for the dedication of this church, which took place on August 14, 1859. A writer to the Louisville *Guardian* says of the event:

On Sunday, the fourteenth instant, your humble servant, a stranger in Nashville, had an opportunity of witnessing a cheering evidence of the steady progress of our holy religion in this city. This was the dedication of a new temple of the Most High for the use of the German Catholics of Nashville and vicinity. Long before the hour appointed, though the weather was extremely warm, a great concourse of Catholics and Protestants was on the ground, awaiting the arrival of the Right Rev. Bishops to commence the imposing ceremony.

The venerable Bishop Miles, despite his feeble state of health, performed the ceremonies of dedication. He was assisted by the Rev. Messrs. Hoste, D'Arco, and Vogel. The forms and usages of blessing a new Catholic church, so solemn, so full of deep meaning, and so elevating to the Christian mind, were gone through with in an imposing and effective manner. After the blessing of the new church, Right Rev. Bishop Miles spoke to his people in a very feeling manner. He congratulated the German Catholics on the consummation of an event he so long had at heart; and he

40 Recorder's Office, Nashville, Deed Book XXVI, 402.

commended them to the guidance of their worthy pastor, Rev. J. Vogel. . . .[41]

After the Gospel, Bishop Whelan preached a classic sermon in English. Father Vogel spoke in German. The church was named the Assumption, which doubtless increased the joy of the day, for both Bishop Miles and his cherished German Catholics had a great devotion to the Blessed Virgin.

Shortly after the dedication of Nashville's German church, our beloved patriarch took his last journey beyond the confines of his diocese. It would seem that he promised his friend, Bishop Wood, at the time of the latter's consecration, to visit him in Philadelphia, which until now he had not been able to do. When, therefore, the Rev. Charles J. Carter, a native of Kentucky, but vicar general of Philadelphia, urged him and Bishops Spalding and McGill to take part in the consecration of the Assumption (Carter's church in that city) on September 11, 1859, he availed himself of the companionship of the Louisville prelate to make the long journey.[42] Doubtless in part to avoid over-fatigue, on his way home he stopped at Baltimore, where he stayed with the Rev. Leonard Obermeyer, pastor of Saint Vincent de Paul's. The *Catholic Mirror* of September 24, 1859, says of his visit there:

The late important Church proceedings eastward brought several distinguished prelates from a distance to aid in the ceremonies, and Baltimore was last week favored with the presence of several of them on their way home. Right Rev. Richard Pius Miles, the venerable Bishop of Nashville, who is now in his seventieth year, and the oldest man in the American Hierarchy, but still sprightly and active, spent several days with his friend, the pastor of St.

41 The *Guardian,* August 27, 1859.

42 Bishop Spalding to Archbishop Purcell, September 2, 1859 (Notre Dame Archives); the *Guardian,* September 10 and 17, 1859.

Vincent's. He received and returned the visits of his old friends, who were delighted at seeing him again after an absence of seven years.

Most likely the universally beloved and admired man of God also broke his homeward journey at the places of his former labors, which lay along the route; for this was his custom, and he had every reason to believe that he would not see them again. On reaching Nashville, while he left the more arduous and distant toils of the episcopacy to his coadjutor, he still busied himself with many matters for the good of religion in his diocese. In December he was rejoiced by a visit of his ever true friend, Bishop Spalding, and keenly anticipated the pleasure of one from the metropolitan of Cincinnati on his way back from the consecration of the Right Rev. John Quinlan, in New Orleans, for Mobile. January 1, 1860, Doctor Spalding wrote to Archbishop Purcell:

I was so much disappointed that you did not come to Louisville, either in going to or returning from New Orleans. I was in Nashville about the time you were expected to return, and expected to come home with you, if you should come that way from Mobile. which would have been probably the best route. Bishop Miles was also disappointed, as I had told him to hope for a visit from the apostolic band of consecrators. But you went all around us, and left us isolated.[43]

Before he went east, Bishop Miles started up his little seminary again. He also reorganized the board of diocesan counsellors. Father Brown was added to the number, and Father D'Arco substituted for Father Lynch who had gone to Memphis. Now the holy man's work was over, and he could die in peace of mind. With the rainy season, after Christmas, his chronic cough

[43] Notre Dame Archives.

grew worse. However, no one saw cause for serious alarm, since his recovery in such cases had often been almost as sudden as the attack. But in this instance it proved somewhat more violent and stubborn than usual.

Friday, February 17, he went about the city. The next morning, he was found "sitting before the fire in the position which he usually assumed while reciting the divine office." He had not slept all night, and was unable to stand alone. Yet, in his thoughtfulness for others, he had not called for assistance, lest he should deprive the household of their needed rest. Monday afternoon, Bishop Whelan gave him the last rites of the Church. In the afternoon of Tuesday, February 21, 1860, the saintly Father of the Church in Tennessee expired as he had lived—calm and trustful in God.[44]

The Nashville papers of that period gave little space to matters religious, especially if they were Catholic. However, although deeply absorbed in politics at the time, they all noticed Bishop Miles' death. The *Union and American* of February 22 says: "He was a courteous, affable gentleman, and highly respected in the private walks of life; and by the members of his Church he was regarded with the highest degree of love and reverence." The *Republican Banner* of the same date states: "It is with sincere regret that we, this morning, are called upon to announce the death of the Right Rev. Richard Pius Miles, for a number of years Bishop of the Diocese of the Roman Catholic Church of Tennessee."

Again, the *Banner* of February 23 describes how the bishop lay in state in the sanctuary of the cathedral, and how the people flocked in to pay him their last

[44] The *Guardian*, March 10, 1860.

respects. Similarly, in its issue of February 25 it tells of the funeral on the yesterday. Here it says: "Owing to the suddenness of the demise of Bishop Miles, and its occurring in the season of Lent, when all the Bishops are engaged in their own dioceses, the oration was postponed until some future time, when it will be delivered by the Very Rev. B. J. Spalding, Vicar General of Louisville." However, it states that Bishop Whelan, who sang the mass, "pronounced a very excellent eulogy upon the life and services of the deceased."

In regard to the clergy present, the writer in the *Banner* says he noticed "especially the Very Rev. Samuel L. Montgomery, Vicar General of this Diocese, who has been an intimate friend and trusted companion of Bishop Miles almost from boyhood. He shared his labors, joys, and sorrows, and must be one of the most sincere of the many mourners. . . . Seminarians, acolytes, etc., filled up the number in the Sanctuary." In like manner, the *Catholic Telegraph* of Cincinnati, February 25, 1860, declares that "his zeal for the spiritual and temporal welfare of his flock, and his most kind and genial manners will never be forgotten;" and then it proceeds to say:

> He was the right man in the right place; and with the aid of a small number of devoted fellow-laborers, he did probably *all that could be done* for the advancement of religion in a State in which there were not many native Catholics, and but few inducements to Catholic immigrants. Nevertheless, he built a handsome Cathedral, established a hospital, and male and female schools, and neglected not anything for the development of the resources of the State in the interests of religion.

Still more noteworthy is the notice of the man of God given in the *Guardian,* Louisville, Kentucky. Father Brown, we fancy, was its author. It is in the issue of

March 10, 1860, and begins by stating: "In the death of the Right Rev. Richard P. Miles, first Bishop of the Diocese of Nashville, the Catholics of Kentucky, Ohio, and Tennessee must recognize the loss of one who has done much for the extension of the faith in these States. He was almost the last of those zealous missionaries from whom the elder portion of our native Catholic population received instructions in their religious duties." Then the writer proceeds to give a brief outline of the bishop's life, both in the priesthood and in the episcopacy. Next comes an account of his last short sickness, after which he says:

On Wednesday morning, his remains were taken into the church, where they remained exposed before the altar until after the funeral, which took place on Friday morning. During the whole time, thus exposed, the remains were visited by crowds of citizens, both Catholics and Protestants, all apparently anxious to manifest their regrets for the loss of one who had endeared himself to every class of the community. On the evenings of Wednesday and Thursday, the office of the dead was read in the church by the Right Rev. Bishop Whelan and his clergy.

A most affecting scene took place on Wednesday morning, immediately after the remains were carried into the church. The day was the beginning of Lent (Ash Wednesday), and the ceremony of blessing and distributing the ashes was performed by Bishop Whelan. With the remains of their beloved Bishop before them, how could the people fail to feel deeply the truth of those solemn words addressed by the celebrant to the recipients, while he made upon their foreheads the sign of the cross: "Remember, O man, that thou art dust, and unto dust thou shalt return?" The scene was most affecting, and especially so when Bishop Whelan, at the end of the ceremony, ascended the steps of the altar, which was heavily draped in mourning, and in most eloquent and touching terms poured forth the thoughts which stirred his own soul, and were busy in the minds of all present. It was an occurrence not likely to be forgotten by those who witnessed it.

The final funeral rites commenced at nine o'clock on Friday morning. High Mass was celebrated by Bishop Whelan, with the Very Rev. B. J. Spalding of Louisville as assistant priest, Very Rev. J. A. Kelly, Provincial of the Dominicans, as deacon, and the Rev. J. H. Lynch of Memphis as master of ceremonies. There were also present in the sanctuary the Rev. H. V. Brown of Chattanooga, and the Revs. Messrs. J. Scollard, J. M. D'Arco, and D. Carroll.[45] Before the absolution, Bishop Whelan addressed the congregation in a short but appropriate sermon, in which he referred to some of the facts which we have given above in the life of Bishop Miles. The ceremony was closed by the absolution, which was pronounced by Bishop Whelan, and the final interment of the remains under the High Altar of the Cathedral.

Never morose, and seldom low-spirited, Bishop Miles had the happy faculty, in his social relations, to be able to impart to all around him a portion of his own cheerful spirit. He was pious, without affectation, charitable to the poor, and kind and affable to all.

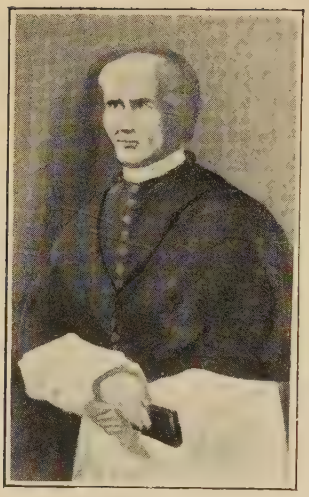
Evidently the *Guardian's* printer did not read the manuscript correctly in regard to the holy sacrifice offered for the deceased prelate. The very description of it shows that it was a solemn high, and not merely a high, mass. Moreover, the *Republican Banner* of February 25 tells us that it was such, that Father Lynch was subdeacon, and that Father Brown acted as master of ceremonies. However, this is a minor matter. The main point is that it shows how lived, labored, died, and was laid to his final rest a noble soul who was, from every point of view, a conspicuous ornament alike to the Order of Saint Dominic, to the priesthood, and to the hierarchy in the United States.

45 Both the *Guardian* and the *Republican Banner* give Father Carroll's initial as D. But the baptismal records at Nashville and other sources show that his first name was William. He belonged to the Diocese of Albany, New York, and seems to have been in Nashville for a rest or his health.

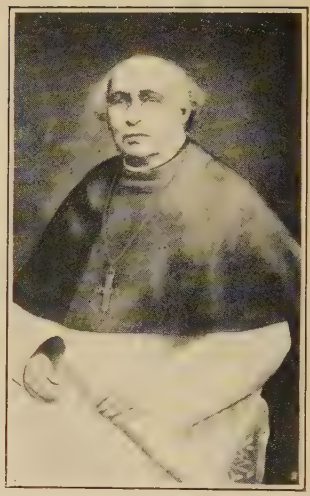
To form a just appreciation of his apostolate in Tennessee one must not consider merely what he accomplished in itself, but what he did under circumstances the most adverse—nay, in spite of obstacles that were apparently insuperable. On his arrival in Nashville, he found himself alone—without a priest; practically without a church; without scrip or purse; without a home, or even a place whereon to lay his head. When he died, tells us the *Catholic Almanac,* he left thirteen clergymen; fourteen churches, built or under way; six chapels; thirty "stations"; a theological seminary; three communities of sisters; one academy for girls; nine parochial schools; an orphanage; and about twelve thousand Catholics. But a short time would have been required for the resurrection of the academy and orphan asylum in Nashville.

Surely this is no inglorious record, when all is taken into consideration. Not always does the efficient and faithful laborer receive the credit that is his due. Such has largely been the lot of the subject of our narrative. Perhaps Archbishop Purcell but speaks the truth, when he says that he was the best choice that could have been made for Tennessee. Certainly it would have been difficult to find another so well fitted for that state, where so much prejudice had to be overcome, and so much hard work and self-sacrifice were necessary to build up the Church. Just also is the appreciation of the *Telegraph,* when it emphatically declares that our ambassador of Christ was the right man in the right place, and that he did *all that could possibly have been done* for the cause of religion in his diocese.

A careful study of Bishop Miles' life reveals not only a charming character, but also a great and holy man



MOST REV.
JOSEPH S. ALEMANY



MOST REV.
THOMAS L. GRACE

RIGHT REV.
RICHARD P. MILES

RIGHT REV.
JAMES WHELAN

FOUR FRIAR-PREACHER PRELATES IN OR FROM TENNESSEE

and zealous prelate. He was practical, courageous, vigilant, resourceful, prudent, judicious—all qualities necessary for the success of his work. His labors in Kentucky, Ohio, and Tennessee can never be forgotten. There he is still, as he must ever be, loved, esteemed, and even revered. His name deserves a distinguished place in the annals of our American Church. The influence of his life lived on after him, and had its part in writing one of the brightest chapters of our ecclesiastical history. We can almost picture how it animated the noble priests who fearlessly exposed or laid down their lives during the successive plagues of yellow fever that devastated the western part of Tennessee.

APPENDIX I

THE REV. LOUIS HOSTE

The Rev. Louis Hoste, who had seen longer service in the Diocese of Nashville than any other priest at the time of Bishop Miles' death, was born in France about 1808. Lyons seems to have been his native city. There he studied, and was ordained on June 1, 1833. The next eight years he spent as a professor, apparently in the preparatory seminary of Lyons. With the permission of his ordinary, he offered his services for Tennessee while Bishop Miles was in Europe in search of help, and arrived at Nashville before the close of 1841. For a quarter of a century he did yeoman service for that diocese.

During the Civil War, although his sympathies were strongly with the south, Father Hoste gave spiritual aid to Catholic soldiers in the opposing armies. The distressful condition in which the strife left Tennessee broke the good priest's heart. Accordingly, at the end of the war (1865), he returned to France, where he seems to have remained for two years. In 1867, we find him at New Iberia, Louisiana. Thence, a year later, he was brought to New Orleans, where he labored until 1881, when he retired, and went to spend his remaining years in the quiet of the Monastery of Gethsemani, Nelson County, Kentucky. Here, however, he took charge of the little parish then belonging to the Trappist Fathers. The present abbot of that institution, the Right Rev. Edmond M. Obrecht, writes that the venerable guest "edified the community with his piety and devotion to the duties committed to his care." In 1886, he was forced by illness and debility to go to Saints Mary and Elizabeth's Hospital, Louisville, where he died on February 15, 1888. He is said to have been one of Bishop Miles' best friends and most ardent admirers. He is buried at Gethsemani.[1]

[1] For further information see text *passim*.

THE VERY REV. SAMUEL LOUIS MONTGOMERY, O.P., V. G.

Father Samuel Montgomery was born in Maryland, January 9, 1789, and was the second of the ten children of Charles and Mary Ann (Elder) Montgomery. He went to Kentucky with his parents about 1795. He was educated, received the Dominican habit, made his religious profession, and was ordained with Bishop Miles. Besides teaching in Saint Thomas' College and at Saint Rose's Priory, in Kentucky, where he took an important part in the parochial work attached to that institution, he spent some years on the missions in that state and in Ohio. His zeal, charity, gentle manners, and good nature are still spoken of, after a lapse of nearly three quarters of a century, in the Dominican parish in Washington County, Kentucky—which shows the lasting impression made by his pastoral labors there.

These good qualities, together with a splendid judgment and rare prudence, led to his appointment as vicar general by Bishop Miles, after whose death he was placed in the same position by Bishop Whelan. No priest in Nashville was more loved or trusted than Father Montgomery. There his memory is held in benediction. He died rather suddenly on Thanksgiving Day, November 26, 1863. The *Freeman's Journal* of December 12, 1863, says that "he was followed to the grave by a large number of sorrowing friends, . . . [and] was truly a man without guile, a successful missionary, and a model priest." He is now buried at Saint Rose's, in Kentucky.[2]

FATHER JAMES ALOYSIUS ORENGO

Father Orengo was born on January 15, 1820, at Castel Vittorio, Liguria, Italy. His parents were Louis and Bianca (Rebaudi) Orengo. When a youth of fifteen or sixteen years of age, he entered the Order of Saint Dominic, but chose the Province of Rome in order to avoid military conscription under the Piedmontese government. In religion he took the name of Aloysius. Doubtless it was at Viterbo that he received the habit, and made his novitiate, pronouncing the religious vows in 1836 or 1837.

2 For further information see text *passim.*

He studied in the Eternal City for several years, but was sent to Lucca in the fall of 1841. There he most likely received the priesthood, which was in 1843. From November that year until September 18, 1844, he was again at Viterbo. No doubt his desire for the American missions had been aroused by Bishop Miles at the time of his visit to Rome. Now therefore, that his studies were completed, Father Orengo proceeded to the Eternal City, where he received the degree of Lector in Sacred Theology, October 17, 1844, and started at once for the United States in company with Fathers Grace, Young, D'Arco and Francis S. Vilarrasa, the last of whom afterwards founded the Province of the Holy Name in California.

The little band of Friars Preacher was headed by Father George A. J. Wilson, the American provincial who had been in Rome. Father Orengo was first sent to Saint Rose's, where he remained until the spring of 1848. Then he went to Tennessee, on whose missions he labored for twenty-five years. Certainly no priest is mentioned either more frequently or in terms of greater praise, affection, and esteem in the notes and letters sent to Fathers Walsh and Larkin and still preserved at Nashville. Father Orengo was emphatically one of Tennessee's apostles. He established numerous missions around Nashville. He built churches at Franklin, McEwen, Columbia, Pulaski, Edgefield Junction, Tracey City, Gallatin, Humboldt, Brownsville, Grand Junction, Covington, and Jackson; extricated those of Clarksville and Shelbyville from a heavy burden of debt; and purchased ground for others at Trenton, Fayetteville, and Union City.[3]

The ever alert missionary served under three bishops and an administrator, by all of whom he was trusted and admired. Middle and western Tennessee were the principal theater of his activities; yet he was not a stranger in any part of the state. In 1873 or 1874 he returned to Italy, but lived on to the extreme old age of eighty-nine years, seventy-two or seventy-three of which he had

[3] Attention has been called in the text to the fact that Father Orengo wrote on the title-page of Gury's *Moral Theology* (which he gave Father Gazzo) that he went to Nashville in March, 1847; but that the baptismal records at Saint Rose's, in Kentucky, show that he did not go there until March, 1848. He had forgotten the precise year. On the fly-leaf of the same book he wrote the list of the churches which he built, etc., as given above; but he does not mention that at McEwen. Father Gazzo, however, assured us that he also built a church there.

worn the habit of Saint Dominic, and had been a priest of God for more than sixty-five. He died on March 18, 1909, in the Convent of La Quercia, near Viterbo. We have heard more than one regret that his life has not been written, for it would make a story of intense interest.[4]

THE REV. HENRY VINCENT BROWN

Father Brown is always spoken of as of Puritan descent. However, Syracuse and Rochester, New York, as well as New England, are given as the place of his birth. Possibly he was born in New England, but spent a part of his early life in those two cities of the Empire State. On his conversion he became a Catholic through and through. Bishop Whelan called him to Nashville, and made him one of the vicars general of the diocese; but after the appointment of the Right Rev. Patrick A. Feehan as bishop, he returned to his beloved Chattanooga, and spent the rest of his life there.

Father Brown merited the love and high regard which he enjoyed among all classes wherever he labored. He was a perfect gentleman, well educated, of fine appearance, intelligent, zealous, charitable, and a good orator. Few priests of his day were more widely known. He rendered a splendid service to religion on both sides of the combat during the Civil War; still, though born in the east, he gave his preference to the cause that was lost. Apparently a short while before Bishop Miles' death, Father Brown began a magnificent stone church at Chattanooga, the foundation of which either he or Father Biemans had completed when the war broke out.[5] The destruction of this by the northern army for military purposes must have rent Father Brown's heart.

His death, at Chattanooga, April 14, 1870, was a shock not only to the Catholics of that place and Nashville, but also to liberal-minded people of every shade of religious belief and walk in life. He is buried at Nashville. Father Brown was another

4 For further information see text *passim.*

5 The *Almanac* of 1861 places Father Brown at Nashville and Father Biemans at Chattanooga. Whether the latter actually took charge at Chattanooga or not can only be determined definitely by the church records there, which we did not consult. Father William Walsh's article on Chattanooga, in *Facts,* August 4, 1894, does not mention him among the city's pastors.

of Bishop Mile's intimate friends and strong admirers. The *Freeman's Journal* of April 30, 1870, after speaking of his temporal efforts for the Catholics of Chattanooga, says: "These are the visible monuments of his labors, but more enduring than these will be the love and esteem which he inspired in the hearts of his parishioners and of all with whom he came in contact. . . . His congregation will long mourn the loss of Father Brown, and few among them can yet appreciate the magnitude of the loss." [6]

THE REV. JOSEPH L. BIEMANS

Father Joseph Biemans, as told in note forty-one of Chapter XIX, was born at Edeghem, not far from Antwerp, Belgium, November 3, 1831. The date of his arrival in Tennessee, we are inclined to think, was after his ordination, and some time in the summer or early fall of 1855; for his name does not appear in the *Catholic Almanac* until 1856, and his first record at Knoxville was on September 29, 1855. Five years he labored hard and faithfully through eastern Tennessee, leaving an impression that lasts to this day. The *Almanac* for 1861 places him at Chattanooga, but with Knoxville and its former missions still under his charge. His last record at Knoxville is dated December 1, 1860, for he was soon succeeded there by the Rev. J. A. Bergrath. How long Father Biemans remained in Chattanooga, where it was evidently intended that he should take the place of Father Brown, we do not know. However, as he soon left the country, it is probable that the Civil War turned his mind towards other parts.[7]

From Tennessee Father Biemans went to England. There he labored in and around London until 1893, when, broken in health, he returned to Belgium. After two years of sickness, he died, October 3, 1895, in his native Edeghem, and was there laid to his final rest.[8]

FATHER ANTHONY RAYMOND GANGLOFF

Father Anthony R. Gangloff was born at "Danne et Quatre Wann," Alsace, about 1822, and was one of the eldest of a family

[6] For further information see text *passim*.
[7] See note 5 above.
[8] Much of this information is taken from Father Biemans' mortuary card, for the correction of errors in which see text.

of eleven children. He had nearly completed his education, when his parents, Nicholas and Appolonia (Wahl) Gangloff, brought him to Perry County, Ohio. October 23, 1843, he received the Dominican habit at Saint Rose's, in Kentucky, and made his religious profession at the same place on November 1, 1844. He pursued his ecclesiastical studies there and at Saint Joseph's, in Ohio, and was ordained by Bishop Purcell in Saint Peter's Church, Chillicothe, Ohio, on September 3, 1849. From that time until he went to Memphis, Ohio and Kentucky were his fields of labor.

Bishop Whelan called Father Gangloff to Nashville late in 1860. There he became pastor of Saint John's Church, in Edgefield. Father Gangloff had now gone into consumption. Accordingly, with the permission of his superiors, he returned to Ohio, where he took temporary charge of Saint Michael's, Madisonville.[9] He died at Saint John's Hospital, Cincinnati, June 9, 1864, aged forty-two years. At the request of his family, who had now moved to Piqua, in the same state, he was buried there. The *Telegraph* of June 15, 1864, says of him: "During a long illness he was faithful to say Mass, when scarcely able to stand at the altar, and attended to his pastoral cares, when apparently tottering on the brink of the grave. He was a man of truly sacerdotal life and manners, and will long be remembered by his Rev. brethren in the ministry, whom he greatly edified."[10]

THE REV. JOHN SCOLLARD

The first mention of Father John Scollard we found is in the *Catholic Almanac* for 1851, when he was pastor of Saint Paul's, Princeton, New Jersey, and also had under his charge the Church of Saint Rose of Lima, at Freehold. When and where he was born, or when and where ordained, we did not discover. He labored on the missions named until he went to Tennessee. The late Father Eugene Gazzo used to say that, when the Civil War broke out, Father Scollard became a chaplain in the Confederate army, getting a horse from Father Orengo for the purpose. After the war (that is, in 1866,) we find him at Jackson, Louisiana, in the Diocese of New Orleans. In 1869, he was changed to Amity,

9 Madisonville is now incorporated in Cincinnati.
10 For his work in Memphis see text.

where he seems to have died in 1876, for his name no longer appears in the *Almanac*.[11]

FATHER JOHN HYACINTH LYNCH

Father J. H. Lynch was born in Zanesville, Ohio, June 22, 1825, his parents being Patrick and Christina (Sedwidge) Lynch. He had two brothers, one of whom died in young manhood, and the other went to California. All his five sisters became Dominican Nuns. Father Lynch received the habit of Saint Dominic at Saint Joseph's, in Ohio, January 19, 1851, and made his religious profession on February 8, 1852. Archbishop Purcell ordained him in the chapel of the Ursuline Sisters, Brown County, Ohio, July 18, 1854. After her husband's death, Mrs. Christina Lynch also entered the Order of Saint Dominic, where she had her own daughter for novice mistress.

Father Lynch had an unusual variety of priestly experiences. Between the time of his ordination and that when he was sent to Nashville, he labored in Ohio and Kentucky. He was recalled to Ohio from Memphis at the outbreak of the Civil War; but a few months later we find him at Lexington, Kentucky, being sent there by his provincial with Father Peter C. Coll, O.P., in response to Bishop George A. Carrell's appeal for help. It was a trying and perilous post which Father Lynch filled to the satisfaction of his superiors until the summer of 1863, when he was sent to his native City of Zanesville.

From that time, he toiled in many parts of the United States, either on parochial missions or in various parishes attended by his Order. In 1878, however, he returned to Zanesville, where he spent the remainder of his long life. He died in Zanesville on August 7, 1908, aged eighty-three years, and was buried at Saint Joseph's Convent, near Somerset. Father Lynch was a very intelligent and well-read man, deeply religious, zealous, faithful to his priestly duties, and scrupulously exact in the observances of his state of life. He possessed an extraordinary voice, was an entertaining conversationalist, and in his younger days drew large crowds

[11] The fact that Father Scollard was on the board of diocesan consultors shows the high regard in which he was held in Nashville.

by his eloquence. In spite of his age, he left a host of friends, many of whom still live in Zanesville.[12]

FATHER STEPHEN BYRNE

Patrick and Mary (Fitzsimmons) Byrne were the parents of Father Stephen Byrne, who was born in Wexford, Ireland, December 25, 1832. It is said that his mother was sixty years of age at the time of his birth. He was educated abroad, and seems to have studied for the priesthood there, but temporarily gave up the idea. Shortly after coming to America, he began to teach in Saint Joseph's College, Somerset, Ohio, and at the same time read philosophy and theology under the Dominican Fathers attached to that institution. There he received the habit of the Order, October 10, 1854, made his religious profession exactly a twelvemonth later, and was ordained to the priesthood (August 4, 1856) by Archbishop Purcell.

From this time until his death, November 23, 1887, Father Byrne's labors were varied, ubiquitous, fruitful, tireless; for his many-sided talent and cheerful spirit of co-operation rendered him useful in almost any line of work. He taught at the college in Ohio, was master of novices, held the office of superior, preached and lectured throughout the country east of the Mississippi River, and gave or helped on many parochial missions.[13] He founded Saint Antoninus' Priory, Newark, New Jersey. In 1877 he was elected provincial, but resigned his office two years later because of ill health and a desire to have more time for labor that lay near to his heart. While provincial, he established Holy Rosary Priory in Minneapolis. Always ailing though he was, he never ceased from toil of one kind or another. Although he died in Minneapolis, his love for Saint Joseph's Convent, in Ohio, caused the superiors to have him buried there.

Doubtless that which will especially perpetuate Father Byrne's memory in future generations is his literary work and efforts in behalf of Catholic colonization. He translated several spiritual books, wrote a number of biographical brochures, and contributed many historical articles to the Catholic papers. Perhaps no one

12 For his work in Tennessee see text.

13 Father Byrne was called away from Memphis in June, 1860; but he labored there again at a later date.

strove more fruitfully (certainly none with greater energy and perseverance) in the cause of Catholic colonization. By far the greater part of his writings, whether in the form of brochures or articles, were on this subject. These were scattered throughout the country, were read by hundreds of thousands, and were admired for their statistical lore. The story of his life, if well written, would make a volume full of interest and instruction. At the time of his death, the editor of the *Catholic Columbian* says that the event has "filled many hearts with great sadness," speaks of his character, and then adds:

"He was also, during his life, a studious scholar, fully informed on those subjects that would tend to promote the good of our holy religion, and in all had the beautiful simplicity of the child. He contributed frequently to the columns of the *Columbian*. He was the historian of his Order, and had he lived longer, might have still further enriched that department of our literature. We of the *Columbian* who knew the deceased well, and loved him for his many noble qualities, his grand character, and happy geniality, will miss him; and unite our prayers with the thousands that will ascend for him to the Throne of Grace, that he may be admitted to eternal happiness."

THE REV. ANTHONY VOGEL

Of Father John Anthony Vogel we discovered but little more than has been narrated in the text of Bishop Miles' life. He seems to have been born in Germany. He spent some years in Louisville, Kentucky, before he studied for the priesthood, and made many friends there. He entered the seminary at Bardstown for the Diocese of Louisville, but later requested that he might give his services to Bishop Miles. Bishop Spalding consented, and the young man was then sent to the seminary in Cincinnati, where Archbishop Purcell, apparently without charge to his new ordinary, kept him until ready for ordination.

Father Vogel certainly labored with great zeal and effect at the Church of the Assumption in Nashville until the outbreak of the Civil War. The *Catholic Almanac* was not issued for the years 1862 and 1863. His name does not appear in that for 1864, or afterwards. Quite probably, like several of the priests of Ten-

nessee, he became a chaplain in the Confederate forces and fell on the field of honor, as did Father Emmeran Blümel, O.S.B., in the eastern part of the state. Perhaps some day a record may be discovered of Father Vogel's noble deeds and heroic death in one of the bloody battles of the south.[14]

FATHER JANUARIUS MANNES D'ARCO

Father J. M. D'Arco was born in Naples, Italy, May 24, 1818. At the age of nineteen years he entered the Order of Saint Dominic at the Convent of San Domenico Maggiore, that city, and was there ordained by Cardinal Riario Sforza on December 18, 1841. October 17, 1844, along with Father Orengo, he obtained the degree of Lector in Sacred Theology in Rome, and started at once for the United States. His first field of toil was Perry County, Ohio. In 1847 he was sent to aid Father John T. Van den Broek at Little Chute, Wisconsin, but returned to Saint Joseph's before the close of 1849. Here he now remained until he went to Tennessee with Bishop Whelan. At Nashville he was secretary, chancellor, and one of the diocesan counsellors.

After the resignation of Bishop Whelan, Father D'Arco obtained the permission of the Order's Master General, the Most Rev. Alexander V. Jandel, to become a missionary apostolic, and went to Oxford, Ohio (in the Diocese of Cincinnati), where he labored until 1873.[15] That year he entered the Diocese of Vincennes (now Indianapolis), and was stationed at Liberty, Indiana. Here he labored on until 1894, when, broken down by age and infirmity, he retired from active work. About the same time, as he feared that he could not again adapt himself to community life, he became secularized. He continued to live at Liberty until 1898, when he went to Saint Vincent's Hospital, Indianapolis, dying there on June 1, 1899. He is buried in Holy Cross Cemetery, Indianapolis.

FATHER JAMES AEGIDIUS (GILES) MARSCHAL[16]

Of Father James A. Marschal's early life we know only that he was born in Prussian Poland, entered the Order of Saint Dominic

14 For further information see text.
15 Father D'Arco's last record at Nashville is dated July 6, 1863.
16 Father Marschal's name is practically always given as Moshall or Marshall in the *Almanac;* but this is incorrect.

there, went to Rome after the suppression of his province by the German government, and received letters patent from Father A. V. Jandel, the Dominican Master General, to come to the United States as a missionary apostolic. The first record of him here places him at Manayunk, Pennsylvania, in 1854. Thence he went to Maine, from there to Wisconsin, and then to Tennessee, where he was stationed at Clarksville. The *Freeman's Journal* of November 3, 1860, shows that during his pastorate at Clarksville he was held up by robbers, and thought to be killed. Possibly this was why he did not remain longer in Tennessee. From there he went back to the Diocese of Philadelphia, remaining in it for four years. Late in 1856, he went to the Diocese of London, Ontario, and was stationed at Ingersoll. Thence he departed for Chicago, and after some years returned to Europe, where he died on September 4, 1893.

Wherever he labored, Father Marschal left a good reputation for zeal, candor, and priestly deportment. He was an intellectual and highly educated man. He spoke English, French, German, and Polish perfectly. This gift of languages seems to have caused him to be placed in charge of "mixed" congregations which were troublesome in themselves, in addition to the difficulty inherent in such a care. Besides, he was of a nervous temperament, and perhaps somewhat tactless, while the letters patent of missionary apostolic given him by his highest superior made him independent of the Order's authorities in this country, whose direction might have rendered him a more stable and useful harvester of souls.

FATHER JOHN THOMAS NEALIS

Father John T. Nealis, who was born in New York City about 1833, was the son of Thomas and Mary (Harrison) Nealis. How early in life he developed a religious vocation may be seen by the fact that he became a postulant at Saint Joseph's, in Ohio, in 1847. Thence he went to Saint Rose's, in Kentucky, where he received the habit of Saint Dominic, September 6, 1851, and made his religious profession on the eighth of the same month in 1852. Archbishop Purcell ordained him at Saint Joseph's, in Ohio. August 4, 1856. Then he was returned to Saint Rose's, where he remained, with the exception of a few months which he spent

in Washington City to take the place of one of the fathers at Saint Dominic's, until stationed at Memphis.[17]

Father Neal's had already developed into an excellent preacher. This combined with his zeal, charity, genial manners, and priestly deportment to win the hearts of the hospitable southern people. From Memphis, however, he soon went to Chattanooga which had been left without a priest. His last record in the Bluff City is dated September 5, 1861. Late in 1862, while attending some of his stations, he was maliciously shot by a ruffian, and narrowly escaped death. In fact, though he continued his labors and did not lose his spirit of optimism, he never fully recovered from the wound he received. Near the close of 1863, he was brought to Nashville, and placed in charge of Saint John's, in Edgefield. The injury inflicted on him at Chattanooga had left him subject to sinking and fainting spells, in one of which he fell from the window of his room at the cathedral rectory on the night of March 18, 1864, and was instantly killed.

With one voice tradition and the journalistic literature of the day tell us that Father Neal's was a most exemplary priest who, while he labored heart and soul for the salvation of others, never forgot his own. No wonder his sudden and unexpected death brought deep sorrow to his many friends far and wide. He is buried at his alma mater, Saint Rose's, in Kentucky.[18]

THE RIGHT REV. JAMES WHELAN

As yet no documentary record of the place of Bishop James Whelan's birth has been discovered other than that this honor belongs to Ireland. The most reliable authorities say that he was born in historic Kilkenny. Both June 8 and December 8, 1823, are given as the date of his birth. Tradition tells us that his mother was only fourteen or fifteen years of age when she married, and that he was the eldest of two children. He was taken to Dublin in infancy, and brought thence to New York City. In these two

[17] Numerous inaccuracies are given in sketches of Father Neal's earlier life. The above is based on the church records of the places named.

[18] Despite the clear, calm, and well-reasoned decision of the coroner and his jury, who pronounced Father Neal's death evidently accidental, a few evil-minded bigots sought to create the impression that the good priest committed suicide. However, they only succeeded in bringing odium upon themselves.

places he received his early education. From the beginning, he had attracted attention by his rare mind, remarkable memory, and love of study.

Father Andrew Byrne, then pastor of Saint James, New York, and later the first bishop of Little Rock, Arkansas, carefully fostered a vocation to the religious life which he detected in the promising Irish youth, and took him to the Very Rev. N. D. Young who had most likely gone to the east to see his nephew, Brother N. R. Young, off for Rome. This was in the spring or early summer of 1838. The next year, now that he had nearly completed his classical course, James Whelan went to Saint Rose's, in Kentucky, where he received the habit of Saint Dominic on May 1, 1839, and took his vows of religion on June 29, 1840. Brother James, for in the Order he took the name which he had received at baptism, mastered philosophy and theology with striking thoroughness, and was the first member of the province to obtain the degree of Lector of Sacred Theology at home. August 2, 1846, Bishop Purcell ordained him at Saint Joseph's, near Somerset, Ohio.

From this time, Father Whelan rose rapidly in his province, holding many offices of trust and responsibility. In October, 1854, he was elected provincial.[19] This position he filled for four years. Traditions in Saint Joseph's Province still exist of the ability and success with which he guided its destinies at the time. From the same source we learn that only the strong prejudice then existing against a provincial immediately succeeding himself prevented his re-election in 1858. Father Whelan was a philosopher, a theologian, a scientist, and a historian of a high order. During his provincialship, he gave missions, preached, and lectured in various parts of the country. Everywhere, for he had an excellent voice, a fine personal appearance, a good delivery, graceful gestures, he established a reputation as a pulpit orator. Besides, he was a priest and religious of irreproachable life, as well as zealous and possessed of a charming personality.[20]

[19] He was elected provincial at the age of one and thirty years, and was the youngest person who has ever held that office in the province.

[20] The writer has often heard old persons, both lay and clerical, in Ohio and Kentucky speak of the facts given here, and they are borne out by many statements in print.

These were the qualities that caused his name to be sent to Rome in connection with more than one see. From the time of his installation at Nashville, he entered on his new duties with an admirable zeal and capacity which won the hearts of all.[21] Unfortunately, his lot in Tennessee was cast in trying times. Scarcely had he his work well in hand, when the Civil War broke out. Perhaps no bishop from the north with Federal sympathies could have met with much success in Tennessee or Kentucky at this period. The few accounts and records of the day show that Bishop Whelan did his best impartially to administer to the spiritualities of the Catholics on both sides of the fratricidal strife. But it was practically impossible for him to steer between Scylla and Charybdis.

Federal sympathies filled his breast, for he was strongly opposed to a dismemberment of the Union, and in his honesty he made no effort to conceal his convictions. Naturally this at once alienated from him the affections of by far the greater part of his flock. A number of his priests had become chaplains in the army, which left the parishes without shepherds; the costly stone foundation of the church in Chattanooga was torn down; his own cathedral had been converted into a military hospital; everywhere his diocese was in ruins; by not a few his fervent exhortation (at benediction during a novena for the protection of heaven just before the fall of Nashville) to the Catholics that, should the worse come, they would put their trust in God, and not forget their religion, was construed as the act of an enemy.[22] Numbers of the officers (General Rosecrans, for instance,) and soldiers from Ohio were his personal friends. With these he openly fraternized, and this was bitterly resented alike by Catholics and non-Catholics.

Under the circumstances, all this was but natural—nay, might have been expected. However, it was more than the zealous bishop could stand. He was a victim of circumstances. His health failed; his nerves became shattered; he felt that, even after the

21 See text.

22 This exhortation is still spoken of in Nashville. Some years ago, several old persons of intelligence who were present on the occasion told the writer that the people, owing to the excitement of the times, simply lost their heads, and could find nothing too harsh to say against Bishop Whelan, though he spoke only for their good. The late Father P. J. Gleeson said that he had investigated the matter, and found it as given above.

war, he would be able to effect but little good for religion in Tennessee. Accordingly, he resigned his miter and retired to the quiet of cloister life at Saint Joseph's, in Ohio.[23] Somewhat later, he went to Zanesville, where he spent the remainder of his years in prayer, study, and scientific investigation. He had a facile pen as well as a logical mind. His *Catena Aurea, or Golden Chain of Evidences* of Papal Infallibility, though brief and pithy, is one of the best works we have on the subject in the English language. Bishop Whelan died in Zanesville on February 18, 1878. He long felt that his death would come suddenly, as it did in a stroke of apoplexy, and he prepared for it by a saintly life. He is buried in the cemetery of Saint Joseph's Convent.[24]

[23] We did not discover the date of his resignation. Reuss (*Biographical Cyclopedia,* p. 107) and Shea (*The Defenders of Our Faith,* p. 307) say that it was in 1864. Father J. A. Kelly, who was appointed administrator of the diocese, signs himself as such in the baptismal records on October 25, 1863. Probably Bishop Whelan insisted that Archbishop Kenrick should appoint an administrator at this time, though he had not yet actually resigned.

[24] Clarke's *Lives of the Deceased Bishops* (III, 292-294) is grossly unjust to Bishop Whelan, and we are glad to learn that an unbiased study is being made of his life.

APPENDIX II

There were two foreign sources from which our American Church, and especially our bishops, received an aid which we should never forget. One was the French Society for the Propagation of the Faith; the other an Austrian society, known as the Leopoldine Association, which was established specifically to help the missions of the United States. We found no record of any aid that the Leopoldine Association gave Bishop Miles; yet it is not unlikely that he was benefited by it from time to time. The French society was a regular benefactor of his; and the following list shows the amounts it gave him year by year from 1839 to 1858. We could not find the volumes of the *Annales* which should have specified the sum given to him for 1859 and 1860; so we do not know how much the society allowed Tennessee these two years.

1839.	26,827	Francs.	1849.	6,000	Francs.
1840.	33,900	"	1850.	5,500	"
1841.	24,600	"	1851.	5,000	"
1842.	23,940	"	1852.	18,000	"
1843.	21,560	"	1853.	6,000	"
1844.	28,500	"	1854.	6,000	"
1845.	18,500	"	1855.	8,000	"
1846.	15,872	"	1856.	7,000	"
1847.	5,600	"	1857.	6,000	"
1848.	5,040	"	1858.	8,000	"

Thus the Church of Tennessee received 219,839 francs from the French Society for the Propagation of the Faith in the twenty years from 1839 to 1858. If we allow six thousand francs each for 1859 and 1860, this would bring the amount up to 231,839 francs. Thus, valuing the franc at twenty cents, Bishop Miles received about $58,000 from this source for his poor diocese. While this amount of money was by no means sufficient for all his needs, we can but wonder how he could have managed without it. The story of his life shows the good works to which it was devoted.

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